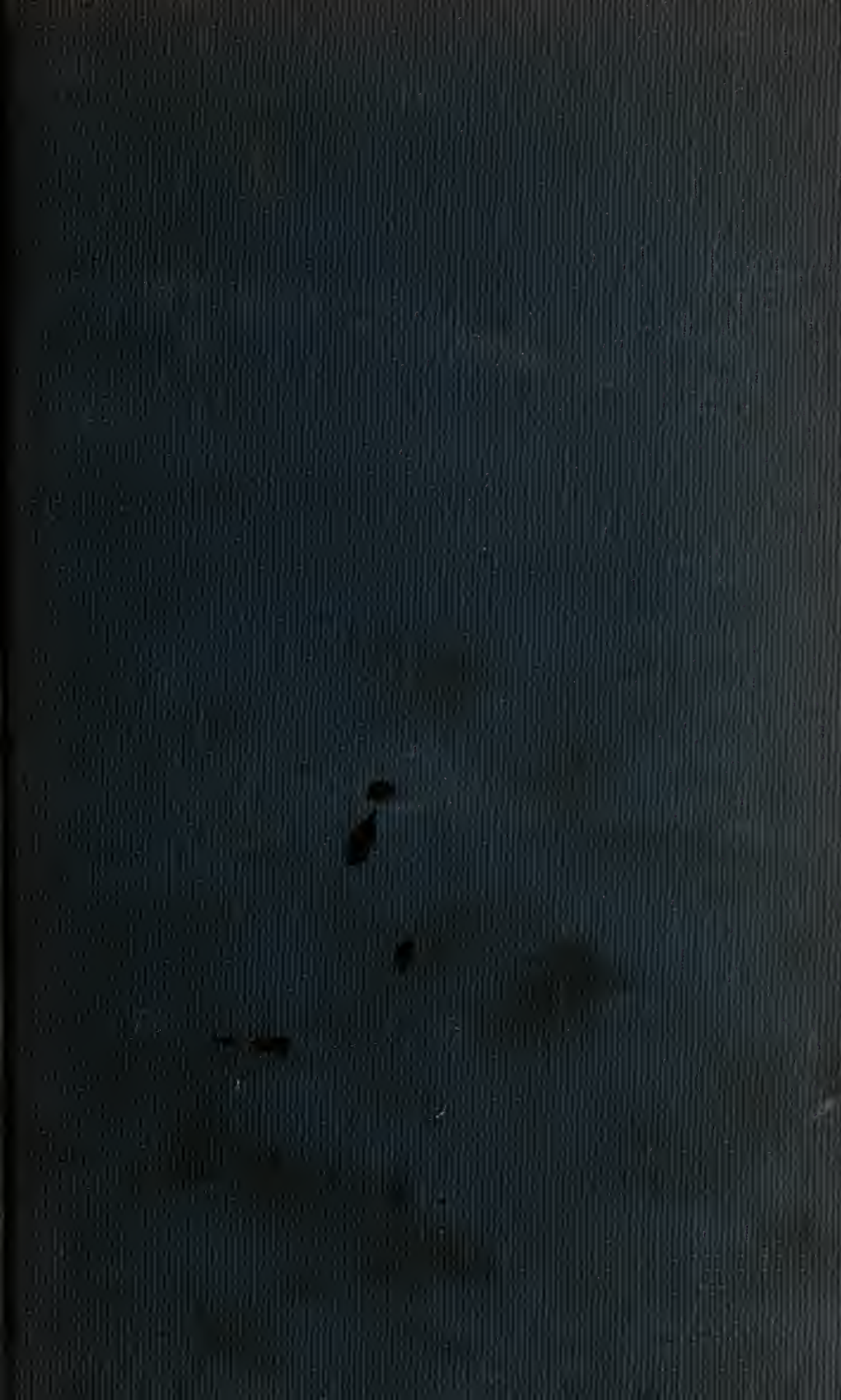
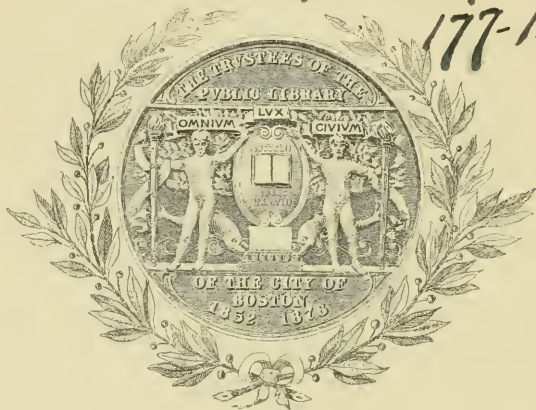




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PUBLICATION No. 180

CHILD WELFARE IN NEW JERSEY

PART 4.—LOCAL PROVISION FOR DEPENDENT AND
DELINQUENT CHILDREN IN RELATION TO
THE STATE'S PROGRAM

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary

CHILDREN'S BUREAU

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CHILD WELFARE IN NEW JERSEY

PART 4.—LOCAL PROVISION FOR DEPENDENT AND
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CHILD WELFARE IN NEW JERSEY

PART 4.—LOCAL PROVISION FOR DEPENDENT AND DELINQUENT CHILDREN

PROVISION FOR DEPENDENT AND DELINQUENT CHILDREN IN FOUR COUNTIES

SOCIAL RESOURCES AND CHILD-WELFARE PROBLEMS¹

INTRODUCTION

As it was impossible for the United States Children's Bureau to include the entire State of New Jersey in its survey of child-welfare work, the study for the most part was limited to Essex, Mercer, Monmouth, and Burlington Counties, which had been selected by the New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies as representative of the various regions in the State.²

Though the studies of State administration of social service and related matters were general, the statistics of commitments of children for a five-year period (April 1, 1920, to March 31, 1925) to the State board of children's guardians, to four State institutions for delinquents, and to four institutions for the feeble-minded were limited to these counties. A similar limitation, in general, was observed in studying juvenile courts, poor-relief administration, and the service of private social agencies and children's institutions. These counties are discussed in order of the magnitude of the population, beginning with Essex and continuing through Mercer, Monmouth, and Burlington Counties.

The race and nativity of the population of the State of New Jersey and of Essex, Mercer, Monmouth, and Burlington Counties are shown in Table 1:

¹ This section was written by William J. Blackburn.

² See Child Welfare in New Jersey, Part 1, by William J. Blackburn, p. 4 (U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 174, Washington, 1927).

TABLE 1.—*Race and nativity of the population of the State of New Jersey and of specified counties in the State, January 1, 1920*¹

Race and nativity	Population									
	State of New Jersey		Essex County		Mercer County		Monmouth County		Burlington County	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	3, 155, 900	100. 0	652, 089	100. 0	159, 881	100. 0	104, 925	100. 0	81, 770	100. 0
White	3, 037, 087	96. 2	622, 664	95. 5	152, 793	95. 6	95, 932	91. 4	77, 234	94. 5
Native	2, 298, 474	72. 8	461, 553	70. 8	116, 877	73. 1	82, 902	79. 0	68, 260	83. 5
Native parentage	1, 212, 675	38. 4	216, 857	33. 3	67, 372	42. 1	61, 007	58. 1	53, 356	65. 3
Foreign or mixed parentage	1, 085, 799	34. 4	244, 696	37. 5	49, 505	31. 0	21, 895	20. 9	14, 904	18. 2
Foreign born	738, 613	23. 4	161, 111	24. 7	35, 916	22. 5	13, 030	12. 4	8, 974	11. 0
Negro	117, 132	3. 7	28, 956	4. 4	6, 991	4. 4	8, 938	8. 5	4, 493	5. 5
Other	1, 681	. 1	469	. 1	97	. 1	55	. 1	43	. 1

¹ Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census.

Table 2 shows the population under 18 years of age in each of the four counties studied and the number of children committed from each county during the five-year period (April 1, 1920, to March 31, 1925) to the State board of children's guardians, to four State institutions for delinquents, and to four institutions for the feeble-minded. It also shows the number of commitments of each type that might have been expected on the basis of the proportional relationships of the population in the four counties. These expected commitments are based on the idea that if Essex County, for instance, had 65.8 per cent of the population of the group its commitments should constitute 65.8 per cent of the total of each type in the four counties. The expected commitments calculated on this basis are the same as those obtained by the application of the commitment rate (total commitments of specified type divided by the total population under 18 years of age) for the four counties to the population of each county.

TABLE 2.—Population under 18 years of age, January 1, 1920, and the actual and expected number of commitments to the State board of children's guardians, four State institutions for delinquents, and four institutions for the feeble-minded in specified counties of New Jersey, April 1, 1920, to March 31, 1925

County	Population under 18 years of age ¹		Children committed to—					
			State board of children's guardians		Four State institutions for delinquents		Four institutions for the feeble-minded ²	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Actual number	Expected number	Actual number	Expected number	Actual number	Expected number
Total.....	337, 165	100. 0	1, 045	1, 045	990	990	215	215
Essex County.....	221, 900	65. 8	780	688	565	652	119	142
Mercer County.....	55, 604	16. 5	56	172	267	163	42	35
Monmouth County.....	33, 475	9. 9	171	104	108	98	26	21
Burlington County.....	26, 186	7. 8	38	81	50	77	28	17

¹ Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census.

² Calculated on the basis of the per cent distribution of the population in the 4 counties.

³ Includes 3 State institutions and 1 private institution.

ESSEX COUNTY

Essex County was selected for study because it occupies the center of the great metropolitan district of northeastern New Jersey. A circle having a 25-mile radius, with its center at Newark, would include approximately 70 per cent of the State's population. The county has an area of only 127 square miles and a population of 652,089 or an average of 5,134 persons for every square mile.³ The population is concentrated almost entirely in the eastern half of the county; the rough, wooded, western townships contain only about 10,000 inhabitants.

Essex County has a population similar in composition to that of the State, except that it has somewhat larger foreign-born and foreign and mixed parentage groups (see Table 1, p. 2). Census figures further indicate that these groups are concentrated largely within the city of Newark.⁴

Newark is not only the largest city in the county but the largest in the State. Its population approximates 500,000.⁵ Surrounding it lie several large towns which are, for practical purposes, a part of the metropolis. Somewhat farther out are important residential suburbs. The city operates under commission government. Newark is noted for the variety and value of its manufactures. Foremost among its industries are the making of clothing; hats and shoes; iron, steel, and other metal wares; chemicals; electrical supplies; leather goods; jewelry; toys and novelties; and cigars. This diversity in lines of occupation helps to steady employment by moderating the severity of seasonal business depressions. Newark Bay and the Passaic River provide increasing port facilities for the city's growing commerce. Its railway connections also are good.

³ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. VI, pt. 1, Agriculture, p. 242; Vol. III, Population, p. 643. Washington, 1922.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. VI, pt. 1, Agriculture, pp. 643, 646.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. III, Population, p. 646.

Both Newark city and Essex County governments have adopted the State civil-service law. The entire urban district of the county has ample railway, trolley, and bus facilities, making access easy not only to Newark but also to New York City. The more exclusive suburban towns, such as Montclair, have become chiefly the homes of New York business men and their families. Educational facilities throughout Essex County are, as a rule, of high standard. Several of the schools have developed exceptionally good social-service programs in connection with their school and home nursing work. The county has a well-equipped psychiatric clinic. Newark provides well-managed special Binet schools for its mentally retarded children.

Essex County has one of the two special juvenile courts in the State, well organized to care for the children coming to its attention. The parental school, county psychiatric clinic, and probation staff assigned to this court from the county probation force afford proper facilities for detention, observation, and supervision of court wards. Several of the towns and cities in Essex County administer poor relief according to modern family case-work principles. There is no county almshouse, and there are only a few municipal almshouses.

The Newark overseer of the poor heads a department of poor and alms, which employs a considerable staff of district visitors and investigators. A few of the visitors and investigators have had special training or long experience in social work. Standards of service, particularly in the field of cooperation with the many other social agencies in the city, might be improved. The city almshouse at East Orange is one of the best in the State.

Most communities in the county have one or more local social agencies. At least 50 social agencies are at work in the county—institutions for dependent children, institutions for delinquents, several children's aid organizations, settlements, day nurseries, and agencies doing some family-relief work, in addition to fraternal organizations and churches which give aid to their members. These various agencies provide facilities for meeting nearly every form of need. Some parts of the field, however, are incompletely covered, and there is overlapping in other parts. The step most needed appears to be the formation of a county organization whereby all these agencies, both public and private, may cooperate in a study of local needs and in the development of a complete county social-service program.

The usual social problems of highly industrialized commercial cities with large foreign groups in their population confront the urban-district agencies. Among these problems are family disintegration due to sickness, accident, death, desertion, maladjustment of newcomers to the United States, child dependency and delinquency, underemployment, overcrowding, vicious moral influences, and exploitation of the need of recreation. Isolation, insufficient income, and family disintegration due to illness and death are associated with most of the social problems of the rural districts.

Table 2 (p. 3) shows that Essex County, with a population of 221,900 under 18 years of age (65.8 per cent of the total population of the age period in the four counties), contributed a larger proportion of commitments to the State board of children's guardians than

would be expected on the basis of the population relationships of the four counties and a smaller proportion to the four State institutions for delinquents and to the four institutions for the feeble-minded. The number of children committed to the State board of children's guardians exceeds the expectation on the basis of population by 13.4 per cent. A good spirit of cooperation existed in this county between the board of children's guardians and the county juvenile court, resulting in a more general use of the help the board is prepared to give.

The number of children committed to the State institutions for delinquents is 13.3 per cent less than would be expected on the basis of the population. This may be attributed partly to the standard of probation work carried out by the county probation department. The observation and the care given in the county parental home of Essex may result in the satisfactory adjustment of many cases that otherwise would be committed to institutions. The commitment of many Newark boys to the Newark City Home may also account for the small percentage sent to the State schools.

Essex County committed 16.2 per cent fewer children to the four institutions for the feeble-minded than would be expected on the basis of its population. Probably early recognition in the schools, diagnosis at the county mental clinic, and local provision of special school facilities may largely account for the situation. The plan of recognizing the seriousness of mental defect and making local provision for the care of the defective child before he becomes a more serious problem is highly commendable.

The summary of local social resources and problems indicates that Essex County has developed exceptionally good social service, both public and private, for meeting many of its problems. Some agencies still lag behind in the standards of their work, but many instances of good cooperation between agencies exist.⁶ No general plan of coordinating to the best advantage all the resources of the county, or even of the larger cities, has yet been put into successful operation. The need for such community organization has been recognized by many leaders in various fields of social service. (See p. 73 for suggested plans that might be helpful in meeting the situation.)

MERCER COUNTY

Mercer County has a land area of 226 square miles and a population of 159,881, or an average of 707.4 persons for every square mile.⁷ It occupies a key position along the Delaware River and near the geographical center of the State. Most of the county is slightly rolling land. In the northern part dairying and fruit growing are important pursuits, and in the southern and eastern parts general farming is usual. There is a noticeable tendency toward the break-up of the old farms and their sale in small tracts to Polish, Italian, and other foreign-born individuals. Many of these individuals carry on small-fruit and truck farming. They are reported to be progressive

⁶ The Catholic Charities of Newark has been established recently to coordinate the work of all Catholic charities in the diocese.

⁷ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. VI, pt. 1, Agriculture, p. 243; Vol. III, Population, p. 644. Washington, 1922.

and favorable to better schools and better roads for their communities.

The major part of Mercer County's population is centered in and near the historic city of Trenton, which is the State capital, the county seat, and a busy industrial center. It has a population with its suburbs approaching 120,000. Trenton operates under a commission form of government. This city is one of the chief centers of the East for the manufacture of all kinds of pottery, sanitary ware, and rubber goods. It also has important iron and steel mills and machine shops. It is well served by railroads, trolleys, interstate and local busses, canals, and the Delaware River for both freight and passenger traffic. A number of State institutions, including the State prison, a State hospital for the insane, the State home for girls, the State school for the deaf, and a State normal school, are located at Trenton. Both the city of Trenton and Mercer County have adopted the State civil service law.³

It may be noticed that Mercer County closely approximates the State in the percentage composition of its population (see Table 1, p. 2). Though the major part of its foreign-born and foreign or mixed parentage groups live in or near Trenton, many of them are scattered through the rural districts also. The negro population is greatest in Trenton. Considerable numbers of negroes, however, are engaged in domestic and personal service in the various towns having important private preparatory schools, and in Princeton, where Princeton University is located.

Mercer County's schools ranked well with the average of the State. They varied in the amount of health and home social-service work which they had developed.

The juvenile court, or "court for the trial of juvenile offenders" as it is termed in the law, was part of the county court system and had no special organization for juvenile work further than holding special sessions for children's cases (see p. 24). It was served by the same officials as the adult courts. The probation staff, consisting of only two officers at the time of the study, was entirely inadequate to handle the volume of work assigned to its supervision, there being at one time (at the close of the year 1924) more than 900 probationers from all the courts. Children's cases were being handled to an alarming extent by the police court of Trenton, only 47 per cent of the 506 juvenile cases arraigned before the police court during the year 1924 having been referred to the juvenile court. With the overburdening of the probation staff, it may readily be seen that there should be a separation of the adult and juvenile work, and a juvenile-court organization equipped to handle adequately all children's cases.

Poor-relief administration in Mercer County varied from superior work in some towns to a bare minimum of almsgiving in other municipalities. Princeton had a trained social worker in charge of combined public and private family-relief work. Trenton had an overseer of the poor of many years' experience. He employed as family-case worker a young woman with good training and a vision of the possibilities of improved family service through increased cooperation between public and private social agencies. Trenton

³ See Child Welfare in New Jersey, pt. 1, p. 43.

maintained a municipal colony near the city, including a modern tuberculosis hospital, a urological and venereal hospital, and an exceptionally well-equipped and well-managed home for the aged and infirm poor. There was no county almshouse, and the few local municipal almshouses were not very satisfactory.

Rural districts and small towns reported comparatively few social problems. Family desertion and illegitimacy, particularly in the towns where domestic and personal services draw an irresponsible or transient type of worker, were fairly frequent. Old age and ill health caused some additional dependency among both adults and children, but in general the population is thrifty and independent.

Trenton's chief industries are subject to considerable fluctuation in volume of business, which causes irregularity of employment to be an important cause of applications for public relief. Desertion, accident, illness, and death, and the difficulty of many foreign-born members of the community to adjust themselves to American social and industrial standards were frequent causes of both dependency and juvenile delinquency. Adequate provision for meeting the recreational needs of children, particularly in the poorer industrial sections of the city, is lacking.

Except for the well-organized social-service bureau at Princeton and a few small community-welfare leagues, nearly all the county's social agencies were centered in or around Trenton. Trenton had about 25 organizations, including institutions for dependent or delinquent children, day nurseries, settlements, and agencies doing children's aid work or protective work for delinquent girls. The receiving home and headquarters of the state-wide New Jersey Children's Home Society also were located at Trenton. There was some degree of cooperation between these various agencies, but the need for greatly extending this cooperation and developing a complete county program was apparent.

Table 2 (p. 3) shows that Mercer County has a population of 55,604 under 18 years of age (16.5 per cent of the total population of the age period in the four counties). The number of children committed to the State board of children's guardians was 67.4 per cent less than would be expected on the basis of the population. Overseers of the poor in the county were opposed, as a rule, to committing children to the board of children's guardians, since there was no county almshouse and children would thus become municipal charges. Combine this with the presence in Trenton of headquarters for the New Jersey Children's Home Society and St. Michael's Aid Society, both having their institutions in or near the city, both being well-known locally, and both having liberal policies of receiving and caring for dependent children by placement in foster homes or in their own institutions, and an explanation of relatively little use of the State's resources for care is apparent. It was a simple and inexpensive solution for the overseer to use means to have his dependent charges accepted for care by one of these near-by agencies.

Further, the Mercer County juvenile court, because of the policy of the overseers of the poor, did not refer a large number of cases to the State board of children's guardians, and there was no active children's aid society in the county particularly interested in initiating commitments to the board through the court.

The number of children committed to institutions for delinquents exceeded the expected number by 63.8 per cent. Several factors must be considered in this connection. For one thing the State home for girls was located at Trenton and the State home for boys at no great distance. Proximity of institutions appears to exert a very real influence toward increasing commitments to them. The inadequate equipment of the county juvenile court for probation service was probably a factor, and no local institutions, either public or private, were equipped to care for delinquents.

More important than these factors, however, are other problems. Trenton has three chief industries—the manufacture of pottery ware, of rubber goods, and of iron and steel. Each of these employs considerable numbers of foreign born and of the less stable type of Americans. Each industry is subject to rather rapid changes in its demands for labor. They do not facilitate easy interchange of employment. These factors very definitely tend to create social instability and uncertainty, which in turn make difficult the development of a homogeneous, well-established community and the growth of a settled, law-abiding attitude in the shifting industrial population. Gangs, common and troublesome, indicated the need for more adequate recreation facilities and leadership.

Commitments to the four institutions for the feeble-minded were 20 per cent higher than the expected commitments. Trenton State Hospital's psychiatric clinic provided good mental diagnostic service for the community and the department of institutions and agencies, with its offices in Trenton, had frequent calls for help in handling local cases of feeble-mindedness.

Mercer County was fortunate in having ready access to several important State institutions, agencies, and departments, which cooperated in handling its social problems. It had good schools and a juvenile court which compared favorably with most of those in the State. Its public and private health agencies might be improved and their services enlarged. Its rural communities generally were prosperous and progressive, but lacked adequate organization for meeting social needs. The city of Trenton had many problems of dependency and delinquency to solve. It had a considerable variety of social agencies, some of which were doing exceptionally good work. One of its chief needs was better organization of these resources.

MONMOUTH COUNTY

Monmouth County stretches nearly across the center of the State, beginning with a narrow strip not far from the Delaware River and spreading out for at least 35 miles along the northern and eastern seacoast. It has a land area of 479 square miles and a population of 104,925, or an average of 219 persons for every square mile.⁹ About 70 per cent of the population is concentrated within a strip 2 miles wide extending along the coast. A considerable part of the population of these coast towns is made up of the families of New York business men who commute daily. Most of the foreign-born groups and negroes also live near the coast, although some Italian and Jew-

⁹ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. VI, pt. 1, Agriculture, p. 243; Vol. III, Population, p. 644. Washington, 1922.

ish agricultural communities extend farther inland. Table 1 (p. 2) indicates two notable differences in the racial groups of the population between Monmouth County and the State. The county's native white stock ranges nearly 20 per cent above that for the State, and its proportion of negroes is more than double that for all New Jersey.

Monmouth County is the richest agricultural county in the State. The level, rich soils of the central and western parts have favored a high standard of farming. Potatoes, tomatoes, asparagus, and peppers are the chief crops, although other truck crops and small fruits are important. A considerable amount of dairying, fruit growing, poultry raising, and general farming is done also. The southeastern and northeastern areas are generally sandy or hilly. Much of the southeastern area lies in the pine belt. The numerous inlets and bays along the coast produce large quantities of clams and oysters. Fishing occupies many people also in this part of the county. Little manufacturing of any kind is carried on, except some canning and the making of uniforms and regalia in one or two factories.

The eastern coast has become very nearly one continuous residential and summer pleasure resort. Several important towns and one city are in this group. Some of these are located along bays or inlets a few miles back from the seacoast.

Monmouth County's schools are among the most progressive in the State. A child guidance and adjustment service, special classes for the child in need of special care, and health work, undertaken in cooperation with local nursing associations are unusual. In making possible this program the schools and the county social-service organization have cooperated.

The county judge presided over the juvenile court, which was a part of the county-court system. The judge was a man of broad vision and all the adult and juvenile probation work was handled by the two county probation officers. The total number of cases reported on probation at the end of 1924 (470 probationers) warrants a staff of at least eight officers. The number of juvenile cases before the court during one year easily warrants the full-time services of one officer. Monmouth was the only county of the three studied not having a special court in which there was a woman probation officer. Also this woman was the only probation officer in these three counties who had had previous experience in juvenile work.

Poor-relief administration varied greatly in its quality. Many overseers cooperated well with local and county social agencies and worked largely along modern family case work lines. Most of them, however, had had no special training for this important service. In a number of cases township committees passed on the work of local overseers and controlled their relief policy. This control was apt to be in the interest of economy more than in that of the rehabilitation of those applying for aid. There was no county almshouse. The dependent poor usually were boarded in private families or in private almshouses, most of which were unsatisfactory. Public opinion was in favor of establishing a county welfare house under the 1924 poor law. If this were combined with county supervision of outdoor relief, it would be a great step in advance over the present system.

Probably no other county in the State had so nearly a complete health program as Monmouth County. Although its chief emphasis

had been placed on health work, particularly in the child-welfare field, family case work and protective work had been developed by local organizations in several of the larger towns. The Monmouth County Organization for Social Service, with headquarters at Red Bank, had done much to develop cooperation among all welfare organizations in the county (see p. 65). The city of Long Branch had a particularly good agency doing general welfare work, under trained management, in the public-welfare organization. About 15 organizations in the county were engaged in some form of social work. This group includes institutions for dependents or delinquents, children's aid societies, day nurseries, and agencies doing family-relief work. One Italian summer camp and private school was in reality a small children's home; it received children, chiefly from New York, without investigation. Although its health conditions and its school and recreation facilities were fair, and the kindly spirit of its superintendent was commendable, it would be better if it were supervised by the State and required to exercise greater care in investigating home conditions before it receives children. Recent steps looking toward more adequate supervision of all such boarding institutions by the State are to be commended.

Table 2 (p. 3) shows that the population under 18 years of age in Monmouth County was 33,475 (9.9 per cent of the total population of the age period in the four counties). The actual number of children committed to the State board of children's guardians and the institutions for delinquents and the feeble-minded were comparatively few. The number expected is too small to form an adequate base for the discussion of percentage differences between the actual and expected commitments. The figures, however, show that the actual commitments invariably exceeded the expected number. This was probably due to the more general discovery of children in need of care as a result of the county-wide organization of social resources. In this county practically all the dependent children were committed to the board through the juvenile court. Overseers of the poor rarely committed directly, as the local community would thus become chargeable. The court had been cooperative in handling this kind of case, and court commitment, the best method of committing children to the State board of children's guardians, was widely used.

Monmouth County's social problems varied considerably in different parts of the county. The prosperous central and western agricultural district had but little poverty and comparatively little juvenile delinquency. Illegitimacy was a relatively more important problem there. The southeastern pine-belt district and the more rolling section of the county have proportionately more cases of dependency, desertion, and mental defect, as well as more sickness among people with a lower standard of living than was usual elsewhere.

The coast region of the north had become in part a residential suburb for the less stable and lower income groups of New York. It had many acute cases of dependency and neglect, due to desertion, sickness, and unemployment. Delinquency was somewhat greater in this mixed and shifting population.

The seasonal demands for domestic and personal service at the summer coast resorts tend to draw an unstable, transient, and irre-

sponsible group of negro and foreign workers. Problems of delinquency, illegitimacy, desertion, and general inability to adjust and manage satisfactorily their own affairs are frequent. The pine belt approaches close to the coast in the southern part of the county. The more primitive so-called "piney" families that drift into these towns and find adjustment to urban standards impossible add greatly to the difficulties of poor-relief officers and social agencies.

As previously noted, the county was exceptionally well prepared to handle health work of all types. Other constructive work had developed out of its health activities as well as a large degree of success in handling problems of family and child dependency. There had been less success in checking delinquency. The county juvenile court, although greatly hampered by an inadequate staff, had handled its work with more than usual care.

The progressive and cooperative spirit that characterized most social workers in the county and the exceptionally effective social organization should prove adequate, if promoted and extended, for most of the county's needs.

BURLINGTON COUNTY

Burlington County was selected to represent the southern half of the State. It is by far the largest county in the State. It has a land area of 815 square miles and a population of 81,770, or only 100 persons for every square mile.¹⁰ It is the only county in the State extending completely across from the Delaware River to the eastern coast. In doing so it crosses four rather distinct districts. Along the river lies a suburban and manufacturing region; back of that a rich truck and fruit-growing area grading off into general farming; east of that and covering by far the greater part of the county lies the great pine belt. This is largely a waste of scrub pine and oak, of sandy hills or swamps, with very few inhabitants. Along its eastern tip the county reaches the line of coast resorts.

The river front has good railroad and trolley facilities, as well as water transportation. Most of the northwestern half of the county is supplied with good roads. These are being extended into the pine belt, and tend to reduce the extreme isolation of parts of that district, to assist materially in the consolidation and improvement of the schools, and greatly to enlarge the opportunities for profitable employment for the inhabitants. However, many of these people still live very primitively in rough shacks in small clearings, and work chiefly at woodcutting, cranberry raising, or the gathering of sphagnum moss.

Table 1 (p. 2) shows that the county has a much larger percentage of native-born white population than has the State. Most of the foreign-born elements are concentrated in the steel-manufacturing towns along the upper stretches of the Delaware River. Much of the native white population represents conservative elements descended from the early English colonists. This is true to a large extent of the inhabitants of the pine belt also.

¹⁰ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. VI, pt. 1, Agriculture, p. 242; Vol. III, Population, p. 643. Washington, 1922.

Burlington County had almost completely eliminated the one-room school. It had a progressive county superintendent who had raised the schools well toward the top among those of the State. A trained and experienced county school-attendance officer acted largely as a school and home social worker and helped to bring county and local health and family-welfare agencies into touch with needy families anywhere in the county. An active county parent-teacher association had done much to promote the high-grade health work of the school nurses and to provide special facilities for children in the county hospital.

Entirely too many of the cases of children charged with delinquency were being handled by police magistrates and justices of the peace, without reference to the juvenile court. These local officials had no facilities for social investigation or probationary supervision. The juvenile court in this county (a part of the county-court system, see p. 38) was held by the same judge as the adult courts and was not meeting the needs of the county as a juvenile court. Probation work for adults and children was combined in the care of one part-time probation officer. The time he could give was inadequate for high-grade service.

Poor-relief administration in several communities was of better than average grade. Some overseers had developed very commendable policies, particularly in the matter of cooperating with local community-welfare agencies. A large part of the work, however, had not gone beyond the stage of relieving immediate distress, with little effort toward determining and removing its causes. The county almshouse had a good hospital attached and had rather better than average management. There were also a county hospital for the insane, a semipublic county general hospital, and a county children's home under private management but in receipt of a substantial county subsidy. The State colony for feeble-minded males at New Lisbon was originally a county institution.

The county had, however, comparatively few social agencies. The local visiting-nurse association and the county chapter of the American Red Cross supplemented the work of the few family-relief agencies and institutions for dependent children. Though there were many individual instances of good working arrangements between two or more social agencies, no general county social organization existed.

Table 2 (p. 3) shows that the population under 18 years of age in Burlington County was 26,186 (7.8 per cent of the total population of the age period in the four counties). The differences between the actual and the expected number of children committed to the State board of children's guardians and to the institutions for delinquents and for the feeble-minded appear to be great on account of the smallness of the actual figures and the small proportion of the population represented by Burlington County. The base is inadequate for the discussion of percentage differences in the actual and expected commitments. Nevertheless, it is well demonstrated that Burlington County made fewer commitments to the State board of children's guardians and to the four State institutions for delinquents than were expected and more commitments to the institutions for the feeble-minded than were expected.

The low percentage of commitments to the State board of children's guardians may be explained largely by the presence of a semi-public county children's home and the fact that the New Jersey Children's Home Society received many of the children from broken homes in this county.

Doubtless the fact that a State colony for the feeble-minded is located in the county and that the colony was formerly a county institution tends to increase the number of commitments to that type of institution. Two other large institutions for the feeble-minded are located near by, at Vineland. Members of the research staff of the training school at Vineland had made studies of mental defect in the pine-belt population.¹¹ The institution stands high in the confidence of local people. It is generally believed that mental defect is relatively more common among the pine-belt population than in most other parts of the State. In any event, it has received more local attention than in many places, but this attention had not led to the development of local facilities for handling defectives to any such extent as was true of both Essex and Monmouth Counties. These facts seem ample to account for the proportionately larger percentage of this type of commitment given in the table (see p. 3).

Social problems common to river industrial towns characterize the river district. Here the mixed and shifting population, the variation in demand for labor, and the sickness and accidents incidental to such industries, tend to produce problems of maladjustment, unstable home life, desertion, illegitimacy, and other forms of delinquency. Improvidence was reported as a common cause of want.

The fruit and truck district had few cases of poverty but many of family maladjustment, particularly among the foreign-born seasonal workers on these farms. There had been much difficulty about insuring to the children of these migratory workers a reasonable amount of schooling. This is a problem requiring the cooperation of local and Philadelphia educational authorities. (Many of the migratory workers are from Philadelphia.) Some steps had been taken toward working out a solution, but the situation remained unsatisfactory.¹²

¹¹ A study made some years ago of the pine-belt population in New Jersey yielded valuable results, but was not followed up by a sufficient program of corrective measures, although much good was done. See *Research Work in New Jersey*, by Elizabeth S. Kite (State of New Jersey Department of Charities and Corrections, March, 1913).

¹² As a result of several conferences between the school and labor authorities of Pennsylvania and New Jersey and certain welfare interests of the two States, bills were introduced in 1925 in the New Jersey and Pennsylvania legislatures making it unlawful for nonresident children to be employed during the time when the laws of the State of the child's residence required his attendance in school. The New Jersey bill passed the house but was defeated in the senate. The Pennsylvania bill was passed by both houses but was vetoed by the governor on the ground that the title of the bill was defective. See also *Work of Children on Truck and Small-Fruit Farms in Southern New Jersey*, pp. 40-52 (U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 132, Washington, 1924).

POOR-RELIEF ADMINISTRATION AS IT AFFECTS DEPENDENT CHILDREN ¹

INTRODUCTION

Any study of public care for families of dependent children must include poor relief. This not only is one of the oldest forms of social service but also remains one of the most nearly universal forms. In New Jersey, as in many other States, the local overseer of the poor represents the chief, if not the only, source of material help for the unfortunate family in many a small town or rural district. His interest, ability, and resourcefulness determine, in many cases, whether a temporary difficulty in family affairs shall be safely weathered and the family's future stability reassured, or whether it shall become the opening wedge of discouragement, friction, and final disintegration. He carries a heavy load of responsibility. In recent years supplementary forms of social service have been extended more and more to the remote community, so that the overseer finds his hands strengthened for his work if he wishes to cooperate with these new agencies. The school nurse, the socially minded school-attendance officer, and the public-health nurse have brought new resources to the assistance of the maladjusted family. Few of these workers confine their efforts strictly to the limits implied in their professional titles. Fewer yet refuse to give their best efforts in cooperation with local overseers in handling family-welfare problems. Health and education are cornerstones in the structure of community life, so that the contributions of the nurse and the school to family adjustment are of the utmost importance.

In most cases overseers of the poor earnestly desire to serve their communities faithfully and well, but in too many cases they lack the vision or training to analyze problems and to apply the constructive rather than the merely mitigating measures needed. Though an increasing number realize the value of cooperating with available social agencies of all sorts for the solution of their problems, too many still think chiefly in terms of immediate cost and fear to call in other assistance lest it increase the demand for material aid. Too often the overseer thinks primarily of tax money rather than of a high level of community social welfare. In New Jersey, at least, poor-relief administration has rarely been open to the charge of either extravagance or dishonesty. The following observation appears to be as true of the overseers of the poor to-day as it was when it was made, except with reference to a few of the more progressive: "In the past it has been his [the overseer's] interest to make a record of spending the least possible amount. Whatever may be

¹ This section was written by William J. Blackburn.

said of municipal extravagances, it can not be charged that there has been prodigality in money expended for poor-relief purposes."²

The new social agencies are educating both the overseer and the public to the true economy of constructive family case work. They are thus doing much to raise standards of poor relief. Where active county social organization exists and all resources are being coordinated, community welfare improves noticeably. No doubt a state-wide survey of poor relief in New Jersey, such as has recently been completed in Pennsylvania,³ would yield valuable results.

The relationship of overseers to dependent children committed to the State board of children's guardians and to families receiving mothers' aid has been treated in detail in an earlier report of the New Jersey study;⁴ therefore only the more general aspects of public relief for families and children in the four counties studied will be covered in the present report.

The study, covering the work of the overseers for the year ended June 30, 1925, was made by personal interview and inspection of records, where such existed, of about half the overseers of the poor, representing cities, towns, and rural districts, in the four counties. In the smaller municipalities and townships overseers usually depended upon their intimate personal knowledge of their constituents for details and kept no records beyond stub notations on relief-order slips or almshouse admission blanks. Obviously figures from such records can not have much inherent value. Such general figures as are used in the discussion of poor relief must be read with this in mind. Almost without exception overseers cooperated generously and showed a genuine desire to promote the success of the study. To the student of poor-relief administration there can be no doubt that these men and women are giving freely of their time and ability regardless of the meager income from the office, that they share a personal sympathy and interest which often compensates for lack of professional training, and that they desire to render to both the general public and applicants for assistance the best service within their power. Whatever faults appear are chargeable chiefly to the system of relief that has come down from a distant past without sufficient revision for modern needs, to the unwillingness of most governing bodies to appropriate adequate funds for high-standard work, and most of all to the indifference of the public to its responsibility for less fortunate members of society. In the communities that have interpreted and applied the poor law liberally, that have appropriated ample funds, and have shown an active and well-directed interest in this field, the overseers have been able to give most commendable service.

THE NEW JERSEY POOR LAW

The New Jersey poor law, which incorporates the fundamental ideas of the old English poor law, originally consisted of numerous enactments. A revision of these was made in 1874; in 1911 and

² Stonaker, C. L.: "A study of the work of the State board of children's guardians." *The New Jersey Review of Charities and Correction*, December, 1915, p. 3.

³ *Poor Relief in Pennsylvania, a state-wide survey*, by Emil Frankel. Bulletin 21, Pennsylvania Department of Welfare, 1925.

⁴ *Child Welfare in New Jersey*, pt. 2. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 175. Washington, 1927.

1924 the method of administration was improved; and in 1924 several permissive features that made possible a material improvement in the poor-relief system were incorporated.⁵ Eligibility for relief is based on five years' residence either in a county or in a municipality without the usual qualifying clause that no relief should have been received during that time. Overseers may be chosen through civil-service examination. No overseers had been so appointed, although members of overseer's staffs in some large cities were so selected for appointment. The overseers are expected to keep more complete records under the 1924 law than heretofore, but they rarely do so. The most notable part of the 1924 law is the provision for county-welfare boards. The board of chosen freeholders, which in New Jersey corresponds in general to the boards of county commissioners of other States, may appoint four citizens of the county for four-year terms, to serve with their own director on this board. The members are allowed actual expenses but no salaries. This welfare board may select a qualified individual, not a member of the board, to serve as the county superintendent of welfare. He serves for a five-year term and receives such salary as the board may fix. He may have such assistants as the board appoints and pays. Though his chief duty is to be the manager of the welfare house (a modernized almshouse) he also may exercise all the authority of an overseer of the poor for whatever part or parts of the county shall elect to use his services, or that of his staff, in place of appointing the usual local overseer. The superintendent or overseer may cooperate with other social agencies to secure gainful employment for dependent poor or members of their families.

The whole subject of welfare boards and social cooperation is related closely to that of community organization (see p. 71). The most commendable feature of the 1924 poor law is the suggestion of placing poor-relief administration on a county basis. Certain unfortunate complications are involved in the adoption of this system, so that no county had put it in operation up to the close of 1925. The study revealed the fact that many overseers were not aware that such a law had been enacted.

OVERSEERS OF THE POOR

An overseer is appointed by the local governing body and serves for five years. He receives such compensation as the governing body fixes. This varies from a purely nominal amount in small districts to a substantial salary in the large cities. The post carries a considerable amount of social prestige in most places. New Jersey has approximately 400 overseers of the poor, about 100 of whom serve in the 4 counties surveyed. The figures and facts that follow were supplied by the 46 whose work was studied.

Though the great majority of overseers throughout the State are men, an increasing proportion of women are receiving appointment. In this study 38 men and 8 women were included. Of the men, 11 had served 5 years or less, 16 more than 5 but less than 15 years,

⁵ N. J., Comp. Stat. 1910, vol. 3, secs. 1-119, pp. 4008-4044; act of Apr. 21, 1911, Laws of 1911, ch. 196, p. 390; act of Mar. 11, 1924, Laws of 1924, ch. 132, p. 252.

and 11, 15 years or longer. Two had served for nearly 30 years. Of the 8 women, 6 had served less than 5 years, 1 between 5 and 10 years, and 1 more than 10 but less than 15 years.

Nine of the men were in small business enterprises, 10 in mechanical pursuits, and 7 in clerical positions, 5 were farmers, 5 gave full time as overseers, and 2 had no special occupation reported other than that of overseers but did not give full time to that. Among the women 5 were housekeepers, 2 were full-time overseers, and for 1, other occupation was not reported. None of the men had had special training for social service. Two of the women were trained family case workers. Some of the members of the overseer's staff or of his close advisers had had some special training for social work. In most instances the overseer cooperated more or less with whatever social agencies operated in his community.

INDOOR RELIEF FOR FAMILIES AND CHILDREN

Indoor relief in New Jersey may be given on a county basis, as is done in 12 counties with county almshouse, or on a municipal⁷ basis, as is done in the remaining nine counties. However, the State has only 17 municipal almshouses. In districts that have no almshouses the dependent poor are boarded with private families or in private institutions. Under certain conditions permanent relief may be given the aged poor in their own homes.

The 1924 poor law provides—

that the supervisor or the superintendent of all almshouses or welfare houses shall notify the New Jersey State Board of Children's Guardians of the commitment of all minor children under the age of 18 years to the almshouse or welfare house and that the New Jersey State Board of Children's Guardians * * * shall thereupon become on such admission the legal guardians of said child or children, as well as when such children are thus placed elsewhere⁸ in the manner herein and otherwise provided by law.

The overseer of the poor shall, upon application for permanent relief, if granted, commit any minor poor child, who shall have gained a legal settlement within the meaning of this act, to the almshouse or welfare house, for a period not to exceed 30 days on or before which time said child or children shall be removed by said board, * * *⁹

It seems unfortunate that the 1924 poor law did not eliminate entirely the provision for committing children to almshouses.¹⁰ It

⁷ Municipality includes "township" in New Jersey.

⁸ A child may be placed in a private home or institution for children instead of in the almshouse until taken by the State board of children's guardians, the child's name being registered at the almshouse as a paper commitment, if overseers so desire.

⁹ New Jersey, act of Mar. 11, 1924, Laws of 1924, ch. 132, secs. 62 and 63, p. 282.

¹⁰ An act of the 1926 legislature again made provision for commitment of children to almshouses. "In any county in this State in which the board of chosen freeholders maintains for children an almshouse, welfare house, or home, under the charge of a board of managers thereof, appointed and regulated by the said board of chosen freeholders, it shall be lawful for any court, or judge, or magistrate, who possesses authority to commit a child to the care and custody of a society, association, or corporation for the prevention of cruelty to children, to commit such child to the care and custody of said board of managers; and in such case the said board of managers shall have the same powers respecting the child as such societies, associations, or corporations now have, or hereafter may have, in the like case. When, in any such county as aforesaid, the parent, guardian, or next friend of any child is unable to provide such care and maintenance for the child as its needs require, the board of managers of such children's home, in order to provide properly for such child may upon the request of such parent, guardian, or next friend, and upon such terms as it deems proper, receive such child into the home for such temporary relief, as it finds necessary." (New Jersey, act of Mar. 17, 1926, Laws of 1926, ch. 42, p. 78.)

should be possible to provide for all children who become public charges in family homes or children's institutions until they are called for by the agent of the State board of children's guardians, as is done in certain municipalities now.

As this survey touched almshouses only incidentally, but four county and two municipal institutions were visited. The purpose was to see what provision was made in such places for families committed with children or for children committed without their parents. Reports of the State inspector of local institutions, others acquainted with them, and many overseers were consulted also. These sources furnished the following facts:

Where one or both parents were committed to an almshouse for an indefinite period but not permanently, the children with them usually were not reported to the State board of children's guardians as public charges.

A child was sometimes sent to an almshouse without technical commitment for an indefinite period without the notification of the State board of children's guardians. This was done rather frequently¹¹ in certain municipal almshouses, when the overseer hoped to find some local disposition for these children rather than to have them made permanent charges against the municipality by commitment to the board. It was rarely done in county almshouses, where the entire county is made chargeable for them.

Except for these instances, most children committed to almshouses were reported promptly to the State board of children's guardians, as is provided by law. The board usually removed these children before the legal 30-day limit was up. Some children thus committed were so defective mentally that the board could find no suitable place in which to board them pending their admission to an appropriate State institution. Such children might remain in the almshouse for a considerable period. In the report of a meeting of the State board of children's guardians, in November, 1925, under the heading of children in almshouses at that time, one county almshouse is noted as having had nine feeble-minded children under care for the following periods: One girl since 1917, 1 girl since 1918, 1 girl since 1919, 2 boys since 1923, 1 girl since 1924, and 3 girls since 1925.¹²

In explanation of this situation the New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies stated that at that time the State lacked adequate institutional accommodation for its feeble-minded children. The department wished to admit to institutions first those children whose cases seem most urgent. Preference as a rule was given to requests made by the State board of children's guardians. At times, however, the admission of children from communities or families where they had become serious problems—perhaps threatening the welfare of normal brothers and sisters—seemed more urgent than the immediate admission of children already being cared for in an almshouse. The department believed that neither the legal techni-

¹¹ No record is kept of such cases at the Newark City Almshouse, so that it was not possible to check exactly there.

¹² One or more of these children were insane. The State has, as yet, no proper institutional accommodations for insane children.

cality involved nor the convenience of almshouse officials should outweigh the pressing need of a given family or community. It believed further that at no given time had more than 12 feeble-minded children remained in almshouses throughout the State for longer than the legal period of 30 days.

The almshouses visited averaged well in cleanliness and general provision for the comfort and care of the infirm or sick adult. Hudson County and the two cities of Newark and Trenton maintained almshouses that in most respects embody the best modern ideas for such institutions. Hudson County alone, however, provided nearly adequate separate quarters and care for such children as must remain there awaiting removal by the State board of children's guardians. Little or no special provision for children is the rule. Fortunately, with the exception of Hudson County, comparatively few of the counties and even fewer of the municipalities commit many children to the board through almshouses during a year, nor need to care for them therein for more than a few days at a time. Use of paper commitments, whereby the child's name is registered at the almshouse but the child himself is placed in a private family or children's institution until called for by the State board's agent, has greatly reduced the number of children who actually are sent to almshouses. This practice is most extensive in Hudson County, where only 103 of 497 children technically committed in 1925 were actually received at the almshouse; the other 394 were cases of paper commitment only. The practice of paper commitment might be more generally adopted to the benefit of the children concerned.

It is believed that the New Jersey overseers of the poor and almshouse superintendents usually observed the spirit of the law in their commitments of children through almshouses. Better quarters and care are needed where children are held in such institutions, even for any part of the 30-day period allowed by law. Complete records should be kept of all children admitted to almshouses, regardless of time remaining or final disposition. More far-reaching measures are needed, however. The whole system of committing children to almshouses should be eliminated as not being in accordance with modern standards of care of dependent children.

OUTDOOR RELIEF FOR FAMILIES AND CHILDREN

Few overseers of the poor kept sufficiently detailed records to supply accurate statistics. Also many in small towns or rural districts had relieved only one or two families during the year studied. Newark reported some 500 families assisted and a total expenditure of approximately \$135,000¹³ (including salaries) for the year ended June 30, 1925. Since a detailed study and report on Newark's poor and alms department was made in 1918,¹⁴ and since conditions therein had not changed materially by 1925, it seemed unnecessary to treat it in detail here. It should be said that since the study Newark had abolished its bread-ticket system and added a woman to the staff of

¹³ Information obtained in an interview with the Newark city overseer of the poor.

¹⁴ The Poor and Alms Department and the Almshouse of Newark, N. J., a survey made for the Newark Board of City Commissioners by the department of surveys and exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation, by Francis H. McLean. Pamphlet SE 28, April, 1919. Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

the department. The almshouse appeared to have adopted most of the report's recommendations referring to its equipment and management.

A new city overseer had been appointed in Newark early in 1925 but had not had time to effect many improvements. His department supplied data on four groups of 10 families each, relieved in January, April, July, and October, 1924, respectively. These were taken as samples of the work of the department. The other 45 overseers supplied general data on a total of 73 families. A total of 113 families was thus reported on with some degree of reliability for the entire study. It is believed that these cases are representative. The following principal causes of need and the number of families reporting such need were given: Widowhood, 29; sickness, 27; desertion, 26; nonsupport, 11; unemployment, 7; all others, 12. Three children in a family were reported in 28 cases, and four in 24 cases. Three was the average.¹⁵ There was a range from 10 families with only 1 child to 3 families with 8 or more children.

Relief given was more generous on the average in urban Essex County than in any of the other three counties. Because of insufficiency of records, only approximate values were secured. These indicate that in all counties food was the most common form of relief given. Weekly grocery orders worth \$5 a family were most common in Essex County, and worth \$3 a family elsewhere. Coal was the next most usual kind of relief given generally, but its value was not reported as a rule. Rent ranked third in importance as a kind of relief in Essex County, where it averaged about \$15 a month for a family. It was rarely paid by overseers elsewhere. Medical attention (often by the township physician), help in obtaining employment, and legal aid were frequently given by overseers in all four counties. Sixteen overseers reported assisting mothers to obtain mothers' aid, and four reported supplementing such aid where it seemed inadequate. Fourteen overseers reported taking legal steps to return family deserters.

In but few cases had overseers either time or inclination to do preventive work, or to push family rehabilitation much beyond the stage where they no longer needed to supply material aid. Nearly all were glad to help obtain mothers' aid for such of their applicants as might be eligible. Twenty-eight reported cooperating with other social agencies in one way or another. A few had excellent programs for such cooperation. In general, however, the ideal animating too many of these officials was simply to relieve urgent distress with a minimum of material aid. Such standards of family relief may be expected to persist as long as the present lack of community organization remains. The untrained overseer, busy at his regular occupation, with little chance to discuss his problems with other overseers and no convenient social agency to consult, can not be expected to do effective case work.

One of the most important duties falling upon the overseer's shoulders is to see that dependent children in his district are given proper care. The law is very specific that "the care of and general supervision over all children adjudged public charges" shall be

¹⁵ Only families with dependent children at home were included in these reports.

vested in the State board of children's guardians.¹⁶ However, there appears to be room for difference of opinion as to what is meant by "adjudged public charges." Some interpreted that phrase to include any child who had been chargeable upon the poor funds, directly or indirectly. Overseers were apt to place their own interpretation upon it. Becoming a public charge usually meant that the child remained a charge until he was at least 14 years old, if he became a ward of the State board of children's guardians. When this came about through juvenile-court action or through commitment to a county almshouse, the entire county bore the charge.¹⁷ In such cases the cost did not seem so burdensome to an individual overseer or the governing body which appointed him, and he was more apt to make such commitments than overseers in counties with no county almshouses.

Where there is no county almshouse children become chargeable directly to the municipality from which they are committed. In these cases the overseer "is never anxious to commit a child as a public charge and generally makes use of every means that his fertile brain can devise to save his locality from assuming any financial responsibility."¹⁸

To illustrate the effect of this system on type of commitment the following figures may be compared: Hudson County, with a population of 629,154, has a county almshouse. Essex County, next door, has a population of 652,089,¹⁹ but uses the municipal-almshouse plan. During the year 1924-25 the State board of children's guardians received from Hudson County 486 dependent children, of whom 477 were committed by overseers and 9 by the juvenile court. The same year from Essex County the board received 361 children, of whom 7 were committed by overseers and 354 by the juvenile court. Other counties show similar ratios in many cases.

Mercer County, however, with a population of 159,881, committed only 14 children in all during the year 1924-25, half through the court and half through commitment by overseers. The inevitable question, and the one which largely impelled the undertaking of this phase of the study, is, What other means have been devised in place of court or almshouse commitment? Three plans were found to have been used rather extensively; just how extensively it is difficult to determine, since no records were kept in many cases.

First, the overseer tries to persuade relatives or friends to assume the care of children left dependent by the disintegration of the family home. Where this is done wisely and the overseer has sufficient assurance that the children will receive proper care, it may be a commendable plan. Relatives probably are the better choice of the two, but even they may lack resources or real disinterestedness in such help. Friends are much more doubtful as a general resort. No doubt in many cases they do all that could be wished, but cases of serious exploitation of helpless children have been reported.

¹⁶ New Jersey, act of Feb. 28, 1918, Laws of 1918, ch. 147, sec. 639, p. 411, as amended by act of Apr. 11, 1919, Laws of 1919, ch. 97, p. 242.

¹⁷ N. J. Comp. Stat. 1910, vol. 2, sec. 224, p. 1893; Cum. Supp. to Comp. Stat. 1911-1924, secs. 161-177, 97-95, pp. 2750, 1565.

¹⁸ Cullen, John A.: "Legal Aspect of Dependent Children in New Jersey." The New Jersey Review of Charities and Correction, May, 1916, p. 4.

¹⁹ Population figures from Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. III. Population, pp. 643-644. Washington, 1922.

Where neither relatives nor immediate friends are willing to assume the full care of children, they may be persuaded to place them in care of a private children's home or child-placing agency. Occasionally the overseer himself does so (11 reported this practice). This usually involves no financial responsibility, or only a small temporary one, on the municipal treasury—a fact which particularly commends both this and the previous plan to overseers representing poorer municipalities.

The third and least common plan is for the overseer to find boarding homes locally and place the children in them at the expense of his district. This practice appears to be directly contrary to that provision of law in which the care of and general supervision over all children "adjudged public charges" is vested in the State board of children's guardians (see p. 20). However, it was reported by 4 of the 46 overseers. In some of the cases, at least, the homes used had been licensed by the local board of health, and the care of the children was supervised by nurses from the health department. There was no evidence to indicate that this third policy was being followed by any considerable number of overseers. Since it is obviously contrary to law there seems little excuse for its continuance.

It would appear that most overseers feel a sympathetic interest in the unfortunate children who have become public charges and that, with the possible exception of some in one county studied, they usually follow both the spirit and letter of the law regarding commitment of such children to the State board of children's guardians. Too many, however, where such commitment seems financially undesirable, consult local tax rates rather than the child's ultimate welfare.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the study of poor-relief administration it was found that a large majority of the overseers were men without any special training for social work and that most of them were engaged in business or the trades in addition to their official duties so that they had little time to devote to this work. An increasing number of municipalities were appointing women, often with considerable vision and training, as their overseers. In few cases were adequate records kept. Personal knowledge as a source of information was depended upon in many cases and with the neighborly sympathy of long acquaintance often accomplished remarkably good results. Township poor committees passed on applications in some rural districts. The public in general is apt to emphasize most the importance of keeping poor-relief appropriations to a minimum, an attitude often reflected in the overseer's work.

Public almshouses did not receive many children during a year and did not have charge of such children more than a few days at a time, as a rule. In some cases, however, children remained in an almshouse longer than the 30-day period allowed by law, either because they had been placed there with a parent or, if alone, while they awaited the overseers' local provision for them. In such cases their admission might not be recorded and was not interpreted as a legal commitment. In a few instances defective children had remained for several years in an almshouse, pending admission to appropriate

State institutions. It is generally agreed that it is impossible to make an almshouse a suitable place for even the temporary care of children.

Where county almshouses were maintained and children committed through them became county charges, most children who properly might be regarded as public charges were so committed, and thus became wards of the State board of children's guardians. Elsewhere, since the municipality is chargeable with such wards, the overseers frequently exerted themselves to have relatives, friends, or children's agencies of one type or another assume all responsibility for such children. In a few cases the overseers boarded children in local homes at public expense, though this is contrary to law.

Though it is not argued that any one or all of these practices necessarily leads to less adequate care than the law provides through the State board of children's guardians, it seems apparent that that board was created specifically to handle all children who legally became public charges, and that such practices as have been noted should be reduced to a minimum. A much greater emphasis, on the other hand, should be placed on constructive family case work and the prevention of dependency. Only as a last resort should the family home be broken up or children removed from their parents' care. Mothers' allowances should be granted more frequently, and should be supplemented if need be, as was done by a number of the most progressive overseers of the poor, especially in several northern cities of the State.

Standards of poor-relief administration have greatly improved in recent years. The poor law of 1924 makes possible much better almshouse care and provides the possibility of poor relief of all types on a county basis. Obviously the isolated, untrained, and poorly paid local overseer can not be expected to maintain high standards of social service, no matter how desirous he may be to serve well. The full application of the provisions of the 1924 poor law should improve public poor relief to a marked degree. Combined with an effective county social-service organization, it might help to open a new era in community welfare.

JUVENILE COURTS AND PROBATION¹

COURTS DEALING WITH CHILDREN'S CASES

In order to determine the adequacy of the State's program in its care of delinquent children a study was made of local facilities for dealing with the problems of delinquency and the methods used in four counties (Essex, Mercer, Monmouth, and Burlington). The study included a survey of the procedure in courts dealing with children charged with delinquency and of the staff, probation service, detention methods, and volume of work of such courts. The following discussion of the methods of the courts refers only to the handling of delinquency problems. The handling of dependency problems by the courts is discussed in connection with the work of the New Jersey State Board of Children's Guardians.²

New Jersey has two special juvenile courts—in Hudson and Essex Counties—each with a staff of especially trained workers. These courts handle juvenile cases and only those adult cases which come within the jurisdiction of the juvenile court. The other juvenile courts in the State—termed by law “courts for the trial of juvenile offenders”—are a part of the county court system, presided over by the judges of the courts of common pleas and served by the county courts' clerical and probation staffs. The amount of specialization in these juvenile branches and the protection afforded to children through conducting the juvenile court according to accepted standards depend largely upon the social-mindedness of the county judge and the amount of time he is willing to give or can give to this work.

JUVENILE COURTS OR COURTS SITTING AS JUVENILE COURTS

Legal provisions.

The first legislative provision for the special care of delinquent children in New Jersey was made in 1900 when an act was passed “respecting juvenile offenders.”³ This law was extremely limited, providing only for the commitment of children under 18 years of age in counties having local public institutions for juveniles. Essex County was the only county in the State to which the law was applicable.

All the counties came within the scope of the next legislative advance in 1903, when provision was made for the handling of juvenile cases in a “court for the trial of juvenile offenders” in each county.⁴

¹ This section was written by Ruth Bloodgood, of the social-service division of the Children's Bureau.

² Child Welfare in New Jersey, pt. 2. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 175. Washington, 1927.

³ New Jersey, act of Mar. 23, 1900, Laws of 1900, ch. 183, p. 469.

⁴ New Jersey, act of Apr. 8, 1903, Laws of 1903, ch. 219, p. 477.

In 1912 a law was passed providing for special juvenile courts in counties of the first class.⁵ Essex and Hudson Counties came under the provisions of this law. Procedure in juvenile cases is still under the law of 1903 and its amendments, except in Essex and Hudson Counties. The amendments to the 1903 law⁶ have been merely rearrangements of certain sections without change of context, and the general procedure of the courts remains the same. Little legislative progress has been made toward providing more specialized treatment of children's cases.

Jurisdiction of the court.

The court for the trial of juvenile offenders is a part of the county court system,⁷ under which the courts of quarter sessions, special sessions, and common pleas and the orphans' courts are grouped. The jurisdiction of the court when sitting as a juvenile court includes delinquent children under 16 years of age; children found to be abandoned, dependent, neglected, abused, or cruelly treated; and adults contributing to delinquency and dependency or neglect.⁸

The jurisdiction of the special juvenile courts includes the same types of cases, and in addition these special courts have "jurisdiction to hear and determine all disputes involving the domestic relation."⁹

Judges.

The judges of the special courts are appointed by the governor with the approval of the senate for a term of five years, and receive a salary of \$6,000 a year.¹⁰ In the other counties the judge of the court of common pleas acts as judge of the juvenile court (see p. 24) and also has under his jurisdiction the court of quarter sessions and the orphans' court. He is appointed by the governor with the consent of the senate for a term of five years.¹¹

Staff of court.

The county-court clerk and the other court attendants serve the juvenile court as well as the adult courts.¹² The probation law provides that the probation officers serving the county courts shall assume the investigation and supervision of juvenile cases. (For a more detailed discussion of the probation staff of each court in the four counties see p. 43.) Separate court staffs for the special juvenile courts are provided by law.¹³ In Essex County the staff consists of a woman court attendant, who is also chief executive, an assistant chief, and three clerks.

Methods of bringing cases to court.

In the three counties studied having no special juvenile court it was found that methods of bringing cases to court followed too closely the regular criminal procedure used in adult cases. Complaints were made not to the probation office or juvenile court but to local officials,

⁵ New Jersey, act of Apr. 1, 1912, Laws of 1912, ch. 352, p. 605.

⁶ New Jersey, act of Apr. 13, 1908, Laws of 1908, ch. 236, p. 467, and act of Mar. 18, 1916, Laws of 1916, ch. 212, p. 429.

⁷ N. J. Cum. Supp. to Comp. Stat. 1911-1924, sec. 53-207, p. 913.

⁸ Ibid., secs. 53-207, 97-90 to 97-100, pp. 913, 1563-1567; Comp. Stat. 1910, secs. 206, 214, pp. 1887, 1889.

⁹ Ibid., secs. 53-215e, 53-215f, p. 915, secs. 53-215a(2), 53-215a(3), p. 920.

¹⁰ Ibid., sec. 53-215a, p. 914.

¹¹ N. J. Comp. Stat. 1920, secs. 91, 92, p. 1725.

¹² N. J. Cum. Supp. to Comp. Stat. 1911-1924, sec. 53-207, p. 913.

¹³ N. J. Cum. Supp. to Comp. Stat. 1911-1924, sec. 53-215, p. 919.

justices of the peace, and police justices (recorders). These officials—if they determined that a case was to be held for court—sent the formal complaint to the office of the county prosecutor. It is the duty of the prosecutor to prefer an accusation in writing alleging that the defendant is a juvenile delinquent and naming the offense.¹⁴ In Mercer and Burlington Counties all the cases were presented to the court by the prosecutor, the probation officer knowing nothing of the case prior to the court hearing. In Monmouth County in some instances the probation officers received the complaints and presented the cases to the court.

Formal arrests were reported as infrequent, but children were usually arraigned before the local justices or police courts, being told by the police or constable to appear at the office of the justice or police judge at a certain time. The figures obtained from the county jails in Mercer and Monmouth Counties show that it was not uncommon for children to be sent to the jail to await hearing, and to be released on bail, but the more general policy was to send them home with their parents with instructions to appear when the juvenile court was to be in session.

Warrants are not formally served except upon failure of the child to appear at the specified time. The law states that "the proceedings for bringing such boy or girl before said court for trial, subpoenaing of witnesses, his or her plea and trial shall be in conformity with the law, and like proceedings in the court of quarter sessions."¹⁵

Petitions in juvenile cases in Essex County were filed directly with the juvenile court, and complaints received by local officials were referred to the office of the juvenile-court clerk. The law specifically states that justices and local magistrates must transfer all children's cases immediately to the juvenile court.¹⁶ Parents and children were notified to be in court at a specified time, and warrants and transportation to court under police or constable escort were used only when absolutely necessary.

The juvenile-court standards formulated by a committee appointed by the Children's Bureau recommend that the jurisdiction of the juvenile court shall begin as soon as a petition is filed or as soon as a child is taken into custody; that the police should not attempt to handle unofficially cases of juvenile delinquency after the child has been taken into custody; and that the judge, or probation officer designated by him, should examine all complaints and after adequate investigation determine whether a petition should be filed or other formal action should be taken.¹⁷

The practice in New Jersey of making complaints through the local justices of the peace and recorders has automatically placed the burden of decision as to whether the child needs the help and protection of the court and all informal adjustments of cases with these local officials rather than with the juvenile court. No informal adjust-

¹⁴ N. J. Comp. Stat. 1910, vol. 2, sec. 208, p. 1887.

¹⁵ N. J. Comp. Stat. 1910, vol. 2, sec. 211, p. 1888.

¹⁶ N. J. Cum. Supp. to Comp. Stat. 1911-1924, secs. 53-215f, 53-215j, pp. 915, 916.

¹⁷ Juvenile-Court Standards; report of the committee appointed by the Children's Bureau, August, 1921, to formulate juvenile-court standards, adopted by a conference held under the auspices of the Children's Bureau and the National Probation Association, Washington, D. C., May 18, 1923, pp. 2, 3. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 121. Washington, 1923.

ment of cases by the probation officers or court was reported except in Monmouth County and there not to any extent.¹⁸

The majority of the justices of the peace and police justices (recorders) interviewed stated that they referred all juvenile cases to the court; yet when further questioned several admitted that now and then they did "warn" the children and dismiss them. Some few made a practice of dismissing minor cases, and in Burlington County the judge who presided over the juvenile court urged the local authorities to make informal adjustments in order that his court might not be crowded with trivial cases. The police justice in the largest town of the county (Burlington) said he referred only those cases to the court in which he wished to recommend commitment to an institution. In another community in this county (Roebling) justices of the peace and police officials were attempting to handle practically all juvenile-delinquency problems.

In Mercer County the police court of Trenton disposed of 53 per cent of the juvenile cases which were brought to its attention. The handling of these cases by the police court constituted rather more than an informal adjustment of cases and is discussed in detail in the section describing other courts dealing with children's cases (see p. 39).

No doubt many cases dealt with informally by justices of the peace and local police justices were well adjusted and were properly kept out of the courts as they were organized. On the other hand, a number of the cases which were so adjusted, if there were opportunity for social investigation, might be found to be greatly in need of some supervision or guidance by the probation officer. The court and the probation officers should be better qualified to discuss with the parents minor conduct problems for which formal action by the court is deemed unnecessary.

Detention pending hearing.

Three legal provisions are made for special places of detention for juveniles in New Jersey. The first law, passed in 1906 and amended in 1908, 1909, and 1910, provided for the establishment of "schools of detention" by the boards of freeholders with the approval of the juvenile-court judge in any county where a juvenile court was established.¹⁹ The purpose of such a school was to care for dependent and delinquent children under 16 years of age whom it might be necessary to hold in custody by order or direction of the court. It was to become a part of the county school system, receiving funds from the county school appropriation, and the county superintendent of schools was to be a board member. The law further provided that in counties where it would be impracticable to establish such a school, because of the small number of children before the courts, the county should arrange with any society or institution caring for homeless or indigent or neglected children to board children for the purpose of detention. No schools of de-

¹⁸ The annual report of the probation officer in Monmouth County for 1924 stated that only 27 cases had been adjusted without court proceedings, and it was not stated whether these were adult or juvenile cases.

¹⁹ N. J. Comp. Stat. 1910, vol. 2, secs. 216-221, pp. 1889-1892.

tention have been established in the State, but some counties have boarded children needing detention care with private organizations.

A law enacted in 1912 (not included in the law creating special juvenile courts in counties of the first class) provided for parental schools in counties of the first class. Under the law such a school if established was to be for the detention of any person, male or female, under the age of 18 years who had been adjudged a juvenile delinquent by the courts for the trial of juvenile offenders, or convicted of violating any criminal statute, or detained as a witness in any pending criminal prosecution, or who was under commitment for appearance in the juvenile court pending final hearing of any pending case. The parental school of Essex County was built in 1916 under the provisions of this law.²⁰

The 1912 act creating juvenile courts in counties of the first class included a provision for special detention quarters in case no parental school or school of detention was established, or if established, where there was insufficient accommodation for temporary detention. If the court could not make any suitable arrangements with a local society or association for temporary detention the county might establish a home for such a purpose entirely separate from any place of confinement of adults. This home (to be called the county shelter) was to be furnished and carried on as a family home.²¹

It is not contrary to the law in New Jersey as it is in some other States to detain children in county jails. The law of 1903 establishing the court for the trial of juvenile offenders states that upon arrest of a person under 16 years of age "it shall be lawful for the magistrate to forthwith commit to the county jail to await trial or to parole to await trial, upon such conditions as the magistrate shall determine."²² However, separation of minors under 18 years of age from adult prisoners is compulsory under the law, and the boards of freeholders are required to make such provisions for separation. If this is not practicable in the existing county jails, they are required to furnish such a place as shall be necessary to accomplish the purposes of the provision.²³ It is further provided that magistrates must not detain or cause to be detained in any station house, lockup, or any other place of confinement for a longer period than 24 hours any person under the age of 17, unless there shall be provided means of complete separation from others above that age.²⁴

The probation officers and judges interviewed stated that the policy of the courts was to keep detention at a minimum. The figures obtained from the jail records in Essex, Mercer, and Monmouth Counties²⁵ showed that in the last two counties jail detention was not at all uncommon, but that in Essex County no children under 16 years of age were held in the county jail during the period covered.²⁶ It

²⁰ N. J. Cum. Supp. to Comp. Stat. 1911-1924, secs. 185-427 to 185-442, pp. 3277-3281. (Sec. 185-432, relative to the expenditures for land and buildings, was amended by act of Mar. 29, 1926, Laws of 1926, ch. 235, p. 3809.)

²¹ *Ibid.*, secs. 53-2151, p. 917.

²² N. J. Comp. Stat. 1910, vol. 2, sec. 206, p. 1887.

²³ *Ibid.*, secs. 164, 165, p. 1874.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, sec. 166, p. 1875.

²⁵ In Burlington County the books were not available, and no figures were furnished.

²⁶ Records were obtained in Monmouth County for the period Jan. 1, 1925, to Nov. 30, 1925; in Mercer County for the year Jan. 1, 1924, to Dec. 31, 1924; and in Essex County for a six-month period, Jan. 1, 1925, to June 30, 1925.

was reported in Essex County, however, that 21 children under 16 years of age were detained in the house of detention, which in reality is an annex to the county jail. This institution is maintained theoretically only for detention of first offenders, both male and female, between the ages of 16 and 21.

Essex County.—The Essex County Parental Home, built in 1916, is a modern three-story building. The juvenile court with its court room and offices for clerks and probation officers²⁷ was located in this building. Individual sleeping rooms and attractive living and recreation rooms were provided for the detained children on the second floor. The receiving rooms were in the basement.

Each child was given a bath upon reception and was given clothes to wear while in the home. His own clothes were sterilized and placed in a locker until he was ready to leave. The children attended school held at the home. The school had manual-training and sewing departments. The boys kept a store. At the rear of the building was a plot of ground which the children cultivated. The superintendent of the home (a woman) was a physician and was exceptionally well qualified for the position, having had considerable experience in institutional work.

The superintendent of the home and court officials in Essex County considered the county parental home as primarily a place for the observation of the children in order to make the most helpful and proper disposition of them, rather than as a place of detention. Every child who was the subject of a complaint in the juvenile court was brought to the county parental home (the juvenile court room and the clerk's offices were here), and the superintendent decided whether or not the child should be released to appear on the date set for hearing or be held at the home. All children committed to institutions by the court remained at the county parental home until taken to the institutions. Every child held in the home was given a thorough physical examination, and excellent work was done in correcting defects. If the desired medical or dental work could not be done during the short period pending court action, recommendation was made to the court to arrange for it in disposing of the case.

From May 1, 1924, to May 1, 1925, 1,200²⁸ children (1,014 boys and 186 girls) went through the county parental home. This number included children who were released without detention (they were all entered on the daybook)—307 remanded by the court and 178 committed by the probation department for violation of probation. It also included 28 children between the ages of 16 and 18 years who probably were held as witnesses. Of these children, 856 were received from police departments—736 from Newark and 120 from municipalities outside Newark. The others (344) were received from such sources as the probation department, the board of education (truancy cases), the Children's Aid Society, and other social agencies.

²⁷ The main offices of the probation officers were in the courthouse, but each officer assigned to the juvenile court had an additional office room at the parental home for use in interviewing and receiving reports.

²⁸ Figures are from typewritten annual report of the Essex County Parental Home.

The house of detention in Newark is a branch of the county jail for the detention of first offenders, both male and female, between the ages of 16 and 21; however, a few children under 16 who are large for their age or exceptionally troublesome are held at the house of detention. Reports were obtained for a six-month period (January 1 to July 1, 1925) of children under 18 years of age detained, and it was found that 13 boys and 8 girls reported to be under 16 years of age had been held.

One of the undesirable features in regard to this house as a place of detention for juveniles under 16 years was that witnesses of any age might be held, and no means of segregation by age groups existed. Sleeping quarters were in dormitories.

Mercer County.—The Mercer County jail is a modern building, exceptionally well equipped and sanitary. Separate quarters for children were provided—four cells for boys on the first floor and four for girls on the third floor (the women's quarters were also on the third floor). These groups of cells were in separate corridors from those of adult prisoners. Although the jail had not a separate entrance for children, they might enter without being seen by other prisoners. The cells in each group were identical in furnishings, having a wall bunk, built-in chair, toilet and bowl with running water. Each cell has one large outside window, which, though barred, permits plenty of air and light, and each cell has an electric light. At the end of the corridor is a bathroom for each group of cells. The cells were painted white; the chair and bunk were white enameled and were kept immaculately clean. Each cell had a solid iron door, also painted white, with a small slide opening.

Special detention quarters were provided for children in the police stations in Trenton (see p. 40).

Of the 49 children under 16 years reported detained in jail during the year,²⁹ only 6 were placed there by the probation officer, 21 were sent by the police court (Trenton), and 19 by local justices or recorders. Two children were received from the court, and the source was not reported in one case.

The following table shows the age distribution of children under 16 years of age detained in jail in Mercer County from January 1 to December 31, 1924:

TABLE 3.—*Age distribution of children under 16 years of age detained in jail in Mercer County, January 1 to December 31, 1924, by sex*

Age	Total	Number of children		Age	Total	Number of children	
		Boys	Girls			Boys	Girls
Total.....	49	36	13	12 years.....	2	2	1
10 years.....	2	2	—	13 years.....	7	6	1
11 years.....	2	2	—	14 years.....	11	9	2
				15 years.....	25	15	10

The six children received at the jail from the probation officer were detained because of offenses which constituted violations of probation, and were held until court disposition was made. Twenty-five

²⁹ Excludes 2 held for U. S. District Court and 1 whose age was not reported but who was listed as a juvenile.

of the 40 received at the jail from police court or justices were held until court action was taken, 8 were released on bail, 3 were discharged, and 4 were released on their own recognizance. Both those received from the court were discharged (whether before or after court action was not reported); the one for whom the source was not reported was kept until after court action.

The periods of detention for the 49 children were on the whole longer than should be permitted in effective juvenile-court work. Eight were held for 2 weeks or more, 10 from 1 to 2 weeks, and 31 for less than 1 week. All but 14 were held more than 2 days.

The following list shows the number of children detained for specified periods:

Period of detention	Number of children	Period of detention	Number of children
Total	49	7 days	2
Less than 1 day	3	8 days	2
1 day	4	9 days	6
2 days	7	14 days	1
3 days	6	15 days	2
4 days	5	21 days	2
5 days	2	24 days	1
6 days	4	27 days	1
		54 days	1

No doubt if the complaints against children were brought directly to the juvenile court where the probation officer would make the decision whether or not a child should be detained, the number held in jail in Mercer County would be considerably lessened.

Monmouth County.—The Monmouth County jail was very old and was entirely inadequate, causing serious overcrowding. A separate block of cells was provided for boys under 18 years of age, but it was on the same floor with the cells for men and could not be entered without passing in full view of the other prisoners. The women's quarters, on the second floor, were used for girls. Boys under 16 years were usually held on the third floor of the jail, which is a large open room with no cells, unfurnished except for cots put up as needed. The children had the entire floor to themselves.

Of the 64 children under 18 years of age held at this jail almost half (28) were under 16 years. Twenty of the 28 were boys, and 8 were girls.³⁰

The following table shows the age distribution of children under 16 years of age detained in jail in Monmouth County from January 1 to November 30, 1925:

TABLE 4.—Age distribution of children under 16 years of age detained in jail in Monmouth County, January 1 to November 30, 1925, by sex

Age	Total	Number of children		Age	Total	Number of children	
		Boys	Girls			Boys	Girls
Total	28	20	8	12 years	5	4	1
9 years	1	1		13 years	4	4	
10 years	1	1		14 years	6	3	3
11 years	1	1		15 years	10	6	4

^a Five of these children were detained twice during the period for which records were obtained.

³⁰ Records were available to the agent for 1925 only and were obtained from Jan. 1, 1925, to Nov. 30, 1925—the date of the agent's visit.

In Monmouth County the court was the source from which the greatest number of children were received at the jail—14 of the 28; 6 were recorded as received from the warden of the jail, and 4 from justices of the peace, and in 4 cases the source was not recorded. Five of the 28 children were held a second time during the year.

An analysis of the jail records in Monmouth County would seem to show that detention for the most part was for the period between court disposition and admission to an institution. Of the 14 children reported as received from the court 12 were discharged from the jail to go to the State home for boys or the State home for girls. One of the other two children was "bailed by the court," and one was "discharged by the court." Of the six children reported as "committed" by the warden, four were reported as released to the State home for boys or State home for girls, and the periods of detention were short. Of the remaining two children one was "bailed by the clerk" and the other was paroled to an individual. Of the eight children received from justices and other sources (not reported) one was released to the House of Good Shepherd, two were "paroled by the court," four were "bailed by the clerk," and one was paroled in custody of his parents.

Periods of detention were short, nearly half (12) being for less than 1 day. The 28 children were reported to have been detained for the following number of days:

Period of detention	Number of children	Period of detention	Number of children
Total-----	28	4 days-----	2
		8 days-----	1
Less than 1 day-----	³¹ 12	10 days-----	1
1 day-----	³² 5	12 days-----	1
2 days-----	³³ 5	56 days-----	1

Investigations.

Social history.—Social investigations of cases were not made generally in Monmouth and Burlington Counties, though in Monmouth County when the complaint was made by the probation department the cases were investigated before being brought to court. The law under which the Essex County juvenile court operates authorizes court attendants to make investigations prior to hearings. This practice was not followed, however, and cases in which the judge wished more complete data were held over for investigation. If an investigation was requested it included a visit to the child's home, report from his school, work records if he was employed, and any information obtainable from other social agencies. The juvenile court in Essex County clears all its cases with the Newark Confidential Exchange. In Mercer County investigation followed the preliminary hearing, practically every case being held over for a week pending investigation by the probation officer. This investigation consisted of statements obtained by the probation officer, following the preliminary hearing, from the child and the parent or relative who accompanied him to the hearing, a home visit, school reports, and work records if the child was employed.

³¹ Two of these boys were detained a second time, also for less than one day.

³² One girl was detained a second time for four days.

³³ One boy was detained a second time for three days. One girl was detained a second time for four days.

Physical examination and personality study.—Physical or mental examinations were not part of the study of the child in Mercer, Monmouth, and Burlington Counties, except in cases presenting outstanding physical or mental defects. In Mercer County reports were sometimes received from the schools of medical and mental examinations given at the school clinics; in Monmouth and Burlington Counties physical examinations were given by local physicians upon special request. The clinic under the auspices of the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service at which both physical and mental examinations could be secured was not used by the Monmouth County court.

In Essex County every child held in the county parental home was given a very thorough physical examination, and the judge frequently remanded children who came before the court to the home for this purpose. The county psychiatric clinic (available for adults as well as children) is used by the juvenile court. This clinic with a staff of five persons is associated with the county hospital, but the director is allowed to select his own staff and fix training requirements for the personnel of this staff. The requirements were very high and only specially trained workers were engaged. Each child in the county parental home is not given a mental examination but only those children presenting difficult behavior problems and those whose mentality is questioned. During 1923 the juvenile court referred 95 children to the clinic.

Hearings.

Juvenile hearings were attended by an agent of the Children's Bureau in only two counties—Essex and Mercer. In Essex County the juvenile hearings, held two days a week, were of an entirely informal nature. The court room is a cheery room, lighted by five windows. The walls were painted brown, and the furniture, judge's table, and chairs were mahogany. A copy of Corot's "Dance of the Nymphs" and a picture painted by one of the children in the parental home (a new picture is painted each month for the court room) hung on the walls. Persons concerned with the case, the probation officer in charge of the juvenile division, the superintendent of the parental home, the court attendant (a woman), the judge's secretary, and the clerk of the court were present at hearings. Other social workers might attend and if interested in specific cases were expected to attend. A worker from the psychiatric clinic attended the hearings when the case of a child who had been examined at the clinic was to come up.

The children, their parents, and any witnesses awaited their turn in a room opening from the court room. They were called into the court room by the clerk. Each case was heard separately. The children and parents stood in front of the judge's table at which he and his secretary were seated. The judge had a report of each case with results of observation if the child had been held in the parental home. He questioned the children and witnesses in a friendly and kindly way. Neither children nor witnesses were sworn.

Children's cases in Mercer County were heard on a day when the civil cases in common pleas or orphans' court were heard. The hearings were set for 11 a. m., and the children were notified to be at the courthouse at 10. However, the juvenile cases were not heard

until the common-pleas and orphans' court proceedings were finished; hence it was sometimes noon or after before they were reached. On the day of the agent's visit it was 1.15 p. m. when juvenile court was called. The children and their parents had been in the court room since 10 in the morning, there being no waiting room other than the main court room.

When juvenile court was called the children and their parents were seated in the jury box in the order in which their cases were on the calendar. The hearings were held in the anteroom off of the main court room. This room is very small, and at the hearing attended was much overcrowded. Hearings were private, attended only by those immediately concerned, including the probation officer, county prosecutor or his assistant, county detective, and counsel for the child if there was one. The cases were brought in individually, but all children involved in each case were brought in at the same time. The children were lined up in order of the warrants held by the county detective, and the parents or persons accompanying them stood in line, each back of his own child.

On the day the court was visited all but one of the hearings were preliminary hearings, the prosecutor reading the charges and presenting the cases to the judge. Practically all the questioning of the children was done by the prosecutor. In the one case which had been continued pending investigation, the judge conducted more of the questioning.

Before the hearing the probation officer reported in conference with the judge on each case investigated and hence did not make a formal report at the hearing.

The extremely long wait in the main court room during the other sessions of the court was one of the unfavorable features in this court. After the hearing the children must wait until they had been interviewed by the probation officer or his assistant. Hence some of the children and their parents must remain at the courthouse practically all day and often had no opportunity to procure lunch.

In Burlington and Monmouth Counties, one day a week was designated for hearing juvenile cases, if there were any. Hearings were generally private in both counties, though frequently held in the regular court room. In both counties it was reported that hearings were informal. However, the procedure was the same in these counties as in Mercer, the prosecutor presenting the cases.

In Burlington County a woman constable assigned to the sheriff's office had charge of all women and girls and was in attendance at court in hearings of girls' cases.

Disposition of cases.

It was somewhat difficult to obtain comparable statistical data regarding the disposition of cases by the juvenile courts in the four counties studied, as the only reports available were those of the probation departments, and, except for Mercer County, these dealt only with children who had been placed on probation. It was reported by all the court people interviewed that every effort was made to prevent commitments to the State institutions for delinquents and that children were given every opportunity to make good on probation.

The extent to which the individual needs of the child were taken into consideration in making dispositions of cases may be questioned in perhaps all the counties except Essex on account of the lack of adequate social investigation, personality study, and medical examination. In Essex County a large majority of the children remained at the parental school several days and the superintendent studied them, frequently making suggestions to the judge as to the disposition which would best suit the needs of the child. In this county, also, difficult cases were referred to the psychiatric clinic for observation, and the clinic's recommendation for treatment was followed by the judge. Essex County, too, had through its many social agencies more and better resources at hand to assist in meeting the problems of the children.

Restitution was a very important factor in the treatment of children's cases in Mercer, Monmouth, and Burlington Counties, being ordered in practically all cases in which any damage to property was involved and in cases of larceny and stealing. To insure payment in small amounts for damages appeared to be one of the most important reasons for placing children on probation. An order for payment in restitution was a much less frequent policy in Essex County. Fines were sometimes imposed in children's cases, but fining was not a general practice.

Outside Essex County practically no private institutions for delinquent children and no local public institutions for delinquents existed. In Essex County the Newark City Home at Verona (primarily for truancy cases) was used by the court for commitments of all types of cases of delinquent boys from the city of Newark. No placements of delinquent children in family homes had been undertaken in any of the counties.

An analysis follows of the dispositions of cases made by the juvenile courts during 1924 in the four counties:

Essex County.—As the number of children before the juvenile court in Essex County during 1924 was too large to undertake a detailed study of the docket, information about the disposition of cases was obtained from the reports of the probation officers and of the county parental home. During the year 602 boys and 85 girls (9 over 16 years of age) were committed to the probation department by the juvenile court. The records of the Essex County Parental Home showed that during the year from May, 1924, to May, 1925, of the children who had been detained in the home, 278 had been committed to various institutions. Many of these children had been returned to the court because of violations of rules governing probation. Of the 224 boys sent to institutions, 4 were committed to a colony for the feeble-minded, 78 were committed to the State home for boys, 129 were sent to the Newark City Home, and 13 were sent to private institutions for dependent and delinquent children. Of the 54 girls sent to institutions, 35 were sent to the State home for girls, 14 to the House of the Good Shepherd, and 5 to other private institutions.

Mercer County.—The report of the probation officer for Mercer County for the year ended December 31, 1924, stated that 222 children (211 boys and 11 girls) under 16 years of age were before the court. Of these, 168 boys and 4 girls were placed on probation and 42 boys and 4 girls were sent to the State homes for boys and girls; the dis-

position made in the case of 1 boy was not reported. Of the 222 children, 91 had previous court records and 131 had not.

A policy had been established in Mercer County of committing boys to the State home for boys for a period of observation or when the judge felt that a boy needed some detention but not a long institutional term. The judge may release any boy committed to the State home, pending a new sentence by the court, within six months from the date on which judgment is entered.³⁴ In an interview with the probation officer on October 10, 1925, he stated that 8 of the 20 boys committed to the State home for boys since January 1, 1925, had been so released by the judge.

Monmouth County.—The information obtained from the juvenile-court docket showed a total of 34 cases involving 42 children before the juvenile court in 1924. Of the 42 children, 5 were committed to the State home for boys, 1 to the State home for girls, and 2 to the State board of children's guardians as incorrigible; the father of 1 child was fined, 7 children were placed on probation under suspended sentence, 2 were placed on parole to individuals, 4 were discharged, and 20 were given continued sentences. The probation officer stated that unless a child was returned to court for some subsequent offense, a continued sentence practically amounted to discharge.

Burlington County.—Data obtained from the juvenile-court docket and the record of the probation officer showed that 23 children (22 boys and 1 girl) were before the court during 1924. The girl (charged with fornication) was committed to the State home for girls. Of the boys, 9 were committed to the State home for boys, 12 were placed on probation, and 1 boy (charged with gambling) was fined \$80. Six of the nine boys and the girl committed to the State homes had no record of having been on probation previously. Payment of restitution and costs was a condition of probation in nearly all cases. Definite periods of probation were specified.

Records.

The legal records, including the separate docket and such papers as the complaint, petition, warrants, notices to parents, and court orders, were kept by the clerk of the county court in Burlington, Mercer, and Monmouth Counties. These records furnished no social data regarding the children. In Essex County the special juvenile court had its own clerk, and individual case records were kept entirely separate from those of any other courts. These records contained, besides the formal papers, reports of investigations and of physical or mental examinations when made.

Special forms for the petition, complaint, warrants, and other papers were used for juvenile cases by the courts in all four counties.

The law ³⁵ specifies that the records of juvenile cases shall be destroyed after the expiration of the period for which the defendant was placed on probation or at the expiration of two years after the discharge of a defendant from an institution to which he may have been committed, and this provision had been complied with in the four counties.

The probation officers in the four counties kept separate records of all children placed on probation, but in none of the counties could

³⁴ N. J. Cum. Supp. to Comp. Stat. 1911-1924, sec. 53-55, p. 885.

³⁵ N. J. Cum. Supp. to Comp. Stat. 1911-1924, sec. 53-207, p. 913.

these be described as adequate social case records. All had some form of individual records besides the card file on which the reports of probationers were checked. In Burlington County the record folder contained only the monthly reports and any correspondence; the identifying, or so-called face sheet, information was entered in a large docket book, each child's case having a separate page. A complete chronological court history of each case was kept on foolscap paper in Mercer County. Besides the necessary identifying information the following facts as to family were usually noted: Civil status of parents, names and ages of other children in the family and their whereabouts, and sometimes employment and wages of the father. The child's statement of the offense as taken in his first interview with the probation officer was quoted on the record. A large printed form comprised the individual probation record in Essex County. Following the identifying information at the top of the sheet the records of home visits and reports were entered, written in long hand. The records in Monmouth County were not seen by the agent, but were reported to contain reports of investigations, physical or mental examinations, if any were given, and the probation record of the child.

Probation officers' records were not destroyed after the two-year period, as were the court records. The probation officers in all four counties prepared annual reports of their work, including both adult and juvenile cases. Essex County, however, was the only one in which this report was published in printed form.

Volume of work.

No doubt in many counties of New Jersey the work of the county courts under the jurisdiction of one judge is not so heavy that sufficient time can not be given as needed to the juvenile work. On the other hand, in some of the larger counties the court work is very heavy, and it is possible that the time given to children's cases is entirely inadequate to meet the minimum standards of juvenile-court work.

An example of the volume of work of the courts in one county (Mercer) may be illustrative of the crowded court calendar into which juvenile cases must be interspersed. The report of the probation officer for Mercer County for 1924 states that 657 cases were disposed of by the quarter and special sessions courts during that year—435 adults and 222 juveniles. This report does not include the work of the orphans' court nor the civil cases in common-pleas court. In the county seat, Trenton (a city of more than 100,000 population), the report of the police court shows that 506 cases of children under 16 years of age had been arraigned in that court during the year. Two hundred and sixty-eight (53 per cent) of these 506 cases had been disposed of by the police court and the remainder had been referred to the juvenile court. If all these cases had been handled by the juvenile court, either formally or informally, the case count for that court would have been 490, thus exceeding the number of cases of adults sentenced by the criminal sections of the court. Such a volume of work would clearly indicate the need of a court organized to handle the conduct problems of the children and young people in that community.

OTHER COURTS DEALING WITH CHILDREN'S CASES

Local authorities dealing with children under the age of 16 years.

The full extent to which justices of the peace and local recorders or police justices were handling and disposing of children's cases could not be determined. It was possible in this study to visit only a small group of these local officials, and even from this small group no accurate data were available, as they did not record ages on their dockets. The majority of the officials interviewed reported that they referred all children's cases to the juvenile courts. A few stated that they dismissed children who were charged with minor offenses following a lecture or "talking to." Children were sometimes placed on probation to report to the justices.

The various local recorders stated that the only juvenile cases over which they had any jurisdiction were cases of truancy. The law defines truancy as juvenile delinquency and states that children between the ages of 7 and 14 and those between 14 and 16 who are not lawfully employed "who shall repeatedly be absent from school, or any child found away from school during school hours whose parent, guardian, or other persons having charge and control of such child is unable to cause him to attend school, or any pupil who shall be incorrigible, actually vagrant, vicious, or immoral in conduct shall be deemed to be a juvenile disorderly person or a juvenile delinquent." The truancy law states further that justices of the peace have no authority to try cases under that law. The authority of the recorders or police justices to handle such cases is specifically stated in the law.²⁶

The policy in truancy cases dealt with by the local recorders was that of warning both parents and children on first offense and of ordering the parents to pay fines in subsequent offenses. Any further protective or preventive work in truancy problems was left to the attendance officers.

In Burlington County the judge of the court of common pleas who sat as juvenile judge stated that he had urged the local officials to dispose of cases of children charged with minor offenses, so that the court would not be crowded with a large number of unnecessary cases. A police justice in the largest town in this county stated that he sent only those cases to the juvenile court in which he considered the child should be committed to an institution. He reported that children's cases were heard informally and privately in his office and that no records were kept.

In Essex County it was generally reported that children were properly referred to the juvenile court and that their cases were not handled by local magistrates.

In Trenton, the county seat of Mercer County, children were arraigned before the police court, and a very large percentage of the cases were disposed of by that court. Special hearings were held for truancy cases on one day of each week, the cases being brought in by the school-attendance officers. Some protection was given to children who were arraigned in this court, as their cases were heard separately from those of adults. The children waited in a separate

²⁶ N. J. Cum. Supp. to Comp. Stat. 1911-1924, sec. 185-1650, p. 3217; sec. 185-165p, p. 3217; sec. 185-165v, p. 3219.

room, not in the main court room. In the first precinct the children and their parents entered through a side door and not through the main office of the police station. They were seldom brought to court by the officers. At least one parent was required to accompany them. Girls usually waited in the office of the policewoman, and she attended all hearings of girls' cases.

Hearings were informal and the children were seldom sworn. If it was necessary to take sworn statements, this was done in one of the private offices of the police sergeant. Two separate docket records were kept for children under 16 years of age; one gives only the child's name, the offense, and disposition, and the other the color, age, offense, and disposition, in addition to the name, sex, and address of the child and the name of parents. A special form of summons was used for juvenile cases, very informal in appearance. It reads as follows:

To _____,
No. _____.

You are hereby notified to be and appear before the First Precinct Police Court, on Chancery Lane, on _____ the _____ day of _____ 192—, at 8 o'clock in the forenoon.

Police Justice.

During 1924 a total of 506 cases involving children under 16 years of age were brought before the police court of Trenton (the number of children involved in these cases was not ascertained). Of these 506 cases, 238 (47 per cent) were held for juvenile court and 268 (53 per cent) were disposed of by the police court. One hundred and fifty-one were discharged; 41 were runaway children, returned to their parents or relatives; 16 were turned over to local authorities other than the juvenile court, probation, or parole officers.

The following lists show the dispositions made of children under 16 years of age, and the charges on which children were arraigned, before the police court of Trenton, January 1 to December 31, 1924:

Disposition ³⁷	Number of cases
Total.....	506
Held for court (juvenile).....	238
Discharged.....	151
Returned to parents or relatives (runaways).....	41
Turned over to other authorities (other than juvenile court, probation officers, or parole officers).....	16
Fined.....	16
Returned to institution or agency (runaway).....	6
Restitution ordered and discharged.....	7
Placed on probation.....	1
Turned over to probation officer (violation of probation).....	12
Turned over to parole officer (violation of parole).....	3
Placed in orphanage (for safe-keeping).....	1
Committed to jail as witness.....	1
Released on own recognizance.....	3
Committed to State home for boys.....	1
Not reported.....	9

³⁷ The classification of the dispositions made is taken directly from the records of the Trenton police court.

Charge	Number of cases
Total.....	506
Stealing or attempted stealing:	
Burglary or unlawful entry—	
Breaking and entering and larceny ³⁸	37
Breaking and entering.....	6
Entering and petit larceny.....	18
Breaking and entering and grand larceny.....	3
Burglary.....	11
Attempt to enter.....	1
Other cases of stealing or attempted stealing—	
Petit larceny ³⁹	106
Grand larceny ⁴⁰	37
Larceny.....	6
Larceny from person.....	2
Petit and grand larceny.....	1
Attempted larceny.....	1
Taking automobile without license.....	2
Truancy:	
Violation of school law.....	14
Running away:	
Runaways.....	59
Fugitive.....	1
Ungovernable or beyond parental control:	
Incorrigible.....	20
Sex offense:	
Lewdness.....	3
Indecent assault.....	1
Incest.....	1
Street walker.....	1
Injury or attempted injury to person:	
Assault and battery.....	11
Act of carelessness or mischief:	
Malicious mischief.....	54
Disorderly conduct ⁴¹	33
Discharge of fire arms.....	1
Other:	
Violation of city ordinance.....	43
Held for investigation.....	6
Suspicious person.....	6
Vagrancy.....	1
Held for safe-keeping.....	3
Violation of probation.....	9
Violation of parole.....	1
Held as witness.....	6
Failed to appear in juvenile court.....	1

The police court had no provision for social investigation or follow-up work. Special detention rooms for children were provided—four at each precinct police station—in Trenton, located on a different floor of the buildings from the cells for adult men but on the same floor with the quarters for women. Individual rooms for the children as well as for the women were provided; they were neatly furnished, had running water, were well lighted, and were very clean. The rooms for children were labeled on the door, two in each station, “Minor female” and two “Minor male.” It was reported,

³⁸ One boy was charged with eight other offenses: Burglary, 1; petit larceny, 3; breaking, entering, and larceny, 3; entering and larceny, 1. One boy was charged with seven other offenses: Entering and larceny, 1; petit larceny, 4; grand larceny, 1; breaking, entering, and larceny, 1.

³⁹ One boy was also charged with incorrigibility.

⁴⁰ One boy was charged with nine other offenses: Burglary, 1; petit larceny, 3; breaking, entering, and larceny, 3; entering and larceny, 1; and grand larceny, 1.

⁴¹ One boy was also charged with violation of the school law.

however, that children under 16 years of age were seldom held even overnight.

Courts dealing with cases of children 16 to 18 years of age.

Special study was not made of the methods in the courts in New Jersey hearing the cases of children between the ages of 16 and 18 years. Following is a general statement as to what courts were dealing with these children and their general procedure:

The maximum juvenile-court age in New Jersey is 16 years, except that in certain cases girls under 17 years may be taken before the juvenile court.⁴² In the four counties studied all cases of children over 16 years of age (girls over 17 years in some cases) were dealt with by the courts of quarter sessions, special sessions, police courts, or justices of peace, the same formal procedure as for adult cases being used by these courts.

Some protection from the formality and criminal procedure of the quarter-sessions court was possible through the court of special sessions,⁴³ in which immediate hearing might be had and in which indictment and trial by jury are waived. Anyone charged with an offense triable before the court of quarter sessions may in writing addressed to the county prosecutor, waive indictment and trial by jury and ask for immediate trial by the court of special sessions. The judge of the special-sessions court decides whether the case shall be handled by that court.

No special treatment was given cases of minors between 16 and 18 years old in the local police courts or by justices of peace, except in Essex County. In Essex County one of the three police courts in Newark had been designated the "family court," and all cases of girls and women dealt with by the police court were heard in that court. This court was established in 1921⁴⁴ and had jurisdiction over nonsupport and desertion cases, complaints made in bastardy, and all cases affecting the care, maintenance, education, and neglect of children and crimes against children. In practice, however, the family court had become primarily a court in which women and girls were tried.

The family court was located at police headquarters. Hearings, except jury trials, were held in the judge's chambers and were private. The staff consisted of a chief clerk and a probation officer (both women) and two policewomen. The judge is appointed by the commission of public safety for a term of four years. The probation officer, who officially belongs to the staff of the county probation office, was assigned to this court and was present at court hearings. She supervised cases placed on probation.

No social investigations were made, but cases were frequently referred to other social agencies. All girls and women charged with sex offenses were referred to the board of health for examination for venereal disease.

Information was not secured as to the number of minors between 16 and 18 years of age coming to the attention of the courts; age is so seldom recorded that the little available information would have been of little or no value.

⁴² New Jersey, Laws of 1925, ch. 191, sec. 34-150, p. 310.

⁴³ N. J. Comp. Stat. 1910, vol. 2, sec. 13, p. 1924.

⁴⁴ N. J. Cum. Supp. to Comp. Stat. 1911-1924, secs. 53-215a(2) to 53-215a(8), pp. 920-921.

PROBATION

LEGAL PROVISIONS

When the juvenile court law was enacted in 1903 the law which since 1900 had provided for probation service in the criminal courts was made applicable to the juvenile courts. The law did not provide for special officers for the juvenile courts, but the work of juvenile probation was added to that of the probation officers for adult offenders. The probation law of 1900 was repealed by a new law enacted in 1906, which was revised in 1922.⁴⁵

The present probation law states that the judge or judges of the courts of common pleas in and for each county are authorized and empowered, if in their judgment the interests of justice will be promoted thereby, to appoint as chief probation officer one probation officer to perform the duties as defined in the law, under direction of the court.

Provision was made in the earlier law for additional officers in counties of the first and second class, not to exceed three (one of whom might be a woman); in 1911 this limitation was increased to five for counties of the first class (two of whom might be women), and in 1913 it was increased to five additional officers for counties of the first class. Under the present law in counties of the first and second class the judge or judges of the courts of common pleas may appoint as many probation officers as may be needed (one or more of whom may be women).⁴⁶ The law makes no provision as to the qualifications of probation officers.

EXTENT OF PROBATION SERVICE IN NEW JERSEY

In 1923 all but three counties in the State (Cape May, Hunterdon, and Warren) reported probation service available to the common-pleas, quarter-sessions, and justices' courts. In Essex and Hudson Counties the juvenile courts reported probation service. Outside Essex and Hudson Counties only Monmouth, Passaic, and Union Counties reported more than one officer.⁴⁷ Since 1923 Mercer, Passaic, and Bergen have each added one officer to the staff, making two officers each in Mercer and Bergen Counties and three in Passaic. Hudson County reports an additional officer and Essex County has added four. Warren County also now has probation service, leaving only two counties in the State with no probation officers.⁴⁸

The important part which the probation service of a court may play in the treatment of delinquency in the community and in the prevention of commitments to institutions is well recognized. The staff should be adequate for the careful investigation of cases and for supervision of probationers in accordance with recognized standards of probation work.

Of the four counties studied, only Essex, with its special juvenile court, had probation officers devoting full time to juvenile work. In

⁴⁵ New Jersey, act of Mar. 23, 1900, Laws of 1900, ch. 102, p. 289; act of Apr. 2, 1906, Laws of 1906, chs. 74, 75, p. 104; act of Mar. 17, 1922, Laws of 1922, ch. 266, p. 648.

⁴⁶ New Jersey, act of Apr. 27, 1911, Laws of 1911, ch. 225, p. 493; act of Mar. 18, 1913, Laws of 1913, ch. 89, p. 140; Cum. Supp. to Comp. Stat. 1911-1924, sec. 53-186a, p. 910.

⁴⁷ Directory of Probation Officers of the United States and Canada, 1923, p. 35. National Probation Association, New York City, Jan., 1923.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 1925, p. 40. June, 1925.

that county five women officers, under a supervising officer acting as chief of the juvenile department, had been assigned to juvenile cases. These officers were all attached to the staff of the county probation office and were specially assigned to the children's cases by the chief probation officer. Burlington County, largely a rural county, had the services of a part-time officer for both adult and juvenile cases. Monmouth and Mercer Counties each had two county probation officers. One of the officers for Monmouth County was a woman; Mercer County, the largest of these three, with a city of over 100,000 population, had no woman probation officer.

TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE OF PROBATION OFFICERS

The probation officers in Essex County were trained social workers. The officer in Burlington County, a young lawyer, had no special training nor previous experience in social work. The woman officer in Monmouth County had previously been the county attendance officer and the man was formerly a parole officer in Rahway, at the State reformatory for men. The chief probation officer in Mercer County had been parole officer at the State penitentiary, starting his work there as secretary to the warden. He had had no previous training in social work. Thus, aside from the officers in Essex County, only one of the probation officers—the woman officer—had had any training or experience in juvenile work.

ADEQUACY OF STAFF

A statement of the number of cases handled by these probation officers and the number on probation on a given date requires no elaboration to show the need for more adequate staff and more specialization for juvenile probation work. In Essex County, even though there was a special staff of trained workers for juvenile cases, the officers were much overburdened. Each officer had about 100 cases under supervision, twice as many as the number suggested as a maximum in the juvenile-court standards.⁴⁹ No investigations prior to court hearings were made by this group of officers (see p. 32); hence their entire time was given to supervisory work.

In the other three counties, where all the officers handled both adult and juvenile cases, reports of the number of adults on probation are included in this discussion in order to show how entirely inadequate was the probation service of the courts.

In Burlington County a part-time worker had 124 persons under supervision on March 31, 1925. It was impossible to obtain the number of adults and number of juveniles in this group. During 1924 the records of the court (clerk's office) and probation officer showed that 15 boys⁵⁰ under 16 years of age and 4 boys between 16 and 18 years were placed on probation. The report would indicate that probably the juvenile work in this county would not warrant a full-time worker for juvenile cases only. But with as many as 124

⁴⁹ U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 121. Juvenile Court Standards, p. 8. Washington, 1923.

⁵⁰ Three of the 15 boys were on probation only one month before being committed to the State home for boys.

on probation at one time, scattered throughout the county, the services of two full-time workers should be available.

Both Monmouth and Mercer County reports showed such a large number of cases under supervision of the probation officers that constructive work could hardly be expected of them. In Monmouth County the two officers had on December 31, 1924, a total of 470 probationers, 41 of whom were children under 16 years of age. The number between 16 and 18 years was not given in the report. A total of 540 probationers had been cared for during the year 1924, of whom 182 had been placed on probation during that time.

Special consideration had been given to the juvenile work by the probation officers in Monmouth County in spite of the very heavy case load. Valuable volunteer service in juvenile cases had been given by the secretary of a welfare organization in Long Branch, a trained social worker. Besides supervising some cases, she had been active in working toward the prevention of juvenile delinquency in her community.

The two probation officers of Mercer County had under supervision at the close of 1924, 954 persons, including 46 who were on probation from the police court. No information was available as to the number of juvenile probationers who were under care at this time, but during the year 168 boys and 4 girls under 16 years of age and 50 boys and 12 girls from 16 to 21 years of age had been placed on probation. Assuming the average probation period to be one year, at least 150 children would probably be on probation at any one time. It would seem evident that there would be a sufficient number of children's cases before the court in this county to warrant two or three officers assigned entirely to juvenile work.

METHODS OF PROBATION WORK

The foregoing statements, showing very large numbers of cases being handled by one or two officers in each county, give some indication of the character of the probation work. In all four counties supervision of probationers was carried on almost entirely by the reporting method. It was stated by all the officers interviewed that home visits were made when necessary, but with the possible exception of Essex County it was intimated that they were very infrequent. In all but Mercer County a definite period of probation was specified in the court order, and release was automatic at the expiration of that time. In Mercer County probation was indeterminate, with a maximum limit of three years.

Essex County.

No reports were available for Essex County from which estimates as to the frequency of home visits could be made. It was stated that the policy was to make them whenever necessary. In this county each of the five probation officers handling only juvenile cases had about 100 children on probation. They devoted full time to supervision of these juvenile cases. Weekly reporting with school cards was arranged for. Children attending school were not required to report at the courthouse, but centrally located schools were selected and office hours were held weekly on Friday afternoons between 3 and 5 o'clock. In one locality the hours for reporting were

on Saturday morning. Working boys between 14 and 16 years of age reported on certain evenings biweekly either at the courthouse, for the boys in Newark, or at a central place, usually the town hall, in outside communities.

Mercer County.

The report of the probation officer for Mercer County did not state the number of home visits made or the number of individual office reports. It was the policy in Mercer County to have probationers report weekly when first placed on probation. If the reports were satisfactory the frequency of reporting was lessened to every two weeks. The assistant probation officer was assigned to the supervision of children's cases. Practically all the reporting was done at the probation office in the courthouse. Often in adult cases, and sometimes in juvenile ones, the probationer did not see the officer, but the woman clerk in the office received the report and the payment if the probationer was under order to pay a fine or restitution. Special hours were assigned to children for reporting. The children of school age were required to bring signed school reports showing daily progress.

The probation officer said that the pressure of work was so great that it was impossible to make home visits, except in rare instances when some serious difficulty was reported. Consider what an attempt to make home visits at least monthly would mean in this county. With the 954 cases on probation at the end of the year 1924 monthly visits would necessitate 31 visits a day. With the staff of two officers and the volume of work undertaken it may readily be seen that it would be impossible to meet minimum standards of supervision of probationers.

Restitution and case costs, the payment of which is a part of successful probation, were ordered in practically all juvenile cases, and nonsupport payments and the payments of fines and costs played a large part in adult cases. Installment payments at the time of reporting were permitted. Supervision of these payments increased the work of the probation officers considerably and the office reporting of probationers, including the payment of their weekly installment, in most cases took the place of home visits and became the principal method of contact with the children.

Monmouth County.

In Monmouth County the annual report of the probation officer stated that 995 visits were made during 1924 to homes and other places in connection with the supervision of the probationers. The total number on probation during the year was 540, with 470 on probation at the end of the year. If home visits were made to every probationer, this would mean not more than two visits to each during a year.

The number of reports made in person to the office was 5,389. The policy of the probation office was to have probationers report weekly. A few probationers reported by mail because of their inaccessibility to the place designated for reporting. Even if allowance is made for these cases the number of office visits would indicate that there was much irregularity in making reports or that the period between reports varied with individual cases. Freehold, the county seat of

Monmouth County, is rather inaccessible by rail from the larger cities; therefore the main office of the probation officer is in Long Branch. Regular weekly evening office hours were also held in Asbury Park, Keyport, and Red Bank, so that the places of reporting were reasonably accessible.

Children on probation submitted school reports which must be signed by their teachers. A large part of the probation work in adult cases consisted of the collection of costs and fines.

Burlington County.

In Burlington County reporting was mostly by mail, except for those who lived in or near the county seat, where the probation officer was located. The reports were sent to the officer, addressed in care of the sheriff. The few probationers who reported in person did so at the private law office of the probation officer, not at the courthouse. Reports were sent in monthly. In children's cases no school reports were required, and no school cooperation had been sought by the probation officer. Home visits were seldom made to probationers.

In the standards for effective probation work recommended at the 1919 annual meeting of the National Probation Association, the following is stated: "True probation work consists of definite constructive effort to help probationers by means of kindly guidance, home visiting, and practical service. Perfunctory supervision consisting principally of reports to the probation office is not real probation work."⁵⁶ In the juvenile-court standards⁵⁷ it is stated that home visits at least once in every two weeks are essential to effective supervision of children's cases.

COOPERATION WITH SOCIAL AGENCIES

Cooperation with other social agencies in the community is an important phase of effective probation work. Mercer and Burlington Counties, both more or less lacking in organized social agencies, had little to report as to cooperation of the probation officers with other agencies. In Burlington County not even school contacts had been made.

In Monmouth County, the secretary of a welfare organization in Long Branch not only assisted by doing some volunteer probation work but had been active in prevention of delinquency in that community. The nurses throughout the county under the auspices of the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service were helpful also. One seeming lack of cooperation in this county was the fact that the clinic in connection with the Monmouth County organization was not used by the court or probation officers for the study of children's cases.

The Newark Confidential Exchange was used by the juvenile court in Essex County to register all cases, and the probation officers consulted with agencies found to be registered on their cases. Social workers from the various organizations attended court hearings in cases in which they were interested, and excellent cooperation with the outside agencies appeared to have been worked out by the court and probation officers.

⁵⁶ "Social Courts and Probation." Annual Report and Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Conference of the National Probation Association, 1919, p. 65. Albany, 1920.

⁵⁷ Juvenile-Court Standards, p. 8. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 121. Washington, 1923.

SUMMARY

The survey of the work of the courts dealing with children's cases in the four counties was not intensive. No study of actual case work with delinquent children was made. The study of methods, equipment, and volume of work of the courts shows (except in Essex County, where there is a special juvenile court) the need for much more specialization of children's cases and more adequate specially trained staffs for carrying on the work. In many respects these courts were found to fall below the standards which have become generally recognized as necessary for constructive juvenile-court work. Jail detention of children under 16 years of age was too frequent. Social investigations appeared to be inadequate and frequently were not made at all. Too much criminal procedure was used in bringing cases to court. The practice of arraigning children before the local justices of the peace and police courts made it possible for these officials to handle a large number of juvenile cases without referring them to the court, and placed the burden of decision as to what were proper cases for unofficial handling on authorities who had little or no provisions for social investigation or follow-up supervision.

In the counties having no special juvenile court the probation service available for juvenile work was entirely inadequate. The adult and juvenile work was combined, and the number of probationers under supervision of the individual probation officers was far too large to permit any opportunity for specialization on children's cases. The reporting system had to be depended upon too largely. Only one of the probation officers had had any previous experience or training in juvenile work.

PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES¹

INTRODUCTION

STATE SUPERVISION

The subject of State supervision and inspection of institutions was dealt with in considerable detail in part 1 of the Child Welfare in New Jersey series. The first move toward State supervision and inspection of public institutions and agencies in New Jersey was made by the State Charities Aid Association, which was authorized in 1886 to be the recognized agency of the State for the supervision of public charitable and correctional institutions. "Supervision of private agencies * * * was not included * * *. From its early days the association maintained a policy of cooperation and friendly interest in private agencies and stood ready at all times to extend to them whatever help it could give. Many of them responded, but the majority from that day to the present have looked with some distrust on any move toward adequate public supervision."²

In 1905 an act was passed creating the office of commissioner of charities and corrections, in charge of a single commissioner.³ The authority of this office was limited to institutions receiving appropriations from the State, and the State Charities Aid Association continued supervision over county and local public institutions. In 1911 the association advocated the public supervision of private charitable institutions and agencies. It was recognized that State supervision, even if it extended only so far as to authorize visitation and to require reports, was not popular, yet it was needed urgently.

In 1914 a law was passed authorizing the commissioner of charities and corrections, on request of a private charitable organization, to inspect that organization and if it was found conforming to reasonable standards to issue a certificate of indorsement. In 1915 only 26 per cent of the private agencies in the State had applied for indorsement, and it was not until 1918 that complete power to inspect and to report on private institutions was conferred on the State board.⁴ Under the 1918 law, if the State board's recommendations for improvement are not complied with a court order may be requested requiring the institution to remedy the conditions complained of. Such orders, after due hearings, may be enforced by the usual proceedings for contempt of court. One weakness of this law is that "institutions conducted by properly organized and accredited churches and fraternal societies" are exempt from inspection.

¹ This section was written by Mary E. Milburn, of the social-service division of the Children's Bureau.

² Child Welfare in New Jersey, pt. 1, by William J. Blackburn, p. 8. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 174. Washington, 1927.

³ New Jersey, act of Mar. 25, 1905, Laws of 1905, ch. 57, p. 92.

⁴ New Jersey, act of Apr. 7, 1914, Laws of 1914, ch. 118, p. 192; act of Feb. 28, 1918, Laws of 1918, ch. 147, sec. 125, p. 353, as amended by act of Mar. 11, 1922, Laws of 1922, ch. 95, p. 176. As this law was interpreted the State department has a right to enter a private institution only when individuals in the institution have been committed by a court or are being provided for from public funds.

At the time of the study private institutions and agencies were inspected by the investigator and inspector of nursing under the division of parole and domestic relations of the New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies. In addition, this agent gave instruction in nursing service for the department. Her program called for annual visits to all private institutions and agencies in the State, but it had not been possible to carry this out completely. The blanks used and the reports made had been confined too closely to routine facts on management and equipment, without sufficient emphasis on the social and human factors that count most in this field. Children's homes, day nurseries, rescue homes, and welfare agencies were among those reported by the inspector in her annual report (1924-25) as having been visited. Preincorporation investigations and special investigations of complaints against institutions were also made. Copies of the investigation reports were sent to the officials of the private organizations, but no summarized annual report for the entire State was published.

The present State department of institutions and agencies aims to develop a better organization and wider application of the work of inspection and supervision of local public and private welfare agencies. One of the important policies of the commissioner has been that of creating in each community a proper sense of responsibility for its own social problems with a clear definition of practical limits as between State and local service. One member of the State staff has been assigned for part time to develop cooperation with local agencies and to assist agencies and institutions in studying and developing their resources and activities so that they may more fully meet community needs.

EXTENT OF CARE GIVEN TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN THE FOUR COUNTIES

In addition to the usual conditions contributing to dependency and delinquency which confront social agencies everywhere, some special problems were found in each of the counties included in this study. The most noteworthy of these were irregularity of employment in large manufacturing centers, instability among workers in the river-front districts, and seasonal employment in truck-raising sections, in the summer residential districts, and at the pleasure resorts along the coast. The work of relief agencies was greatly increased by the presence in the counties of groups of recently arrived workers who were attracted by the particular kind of work found in these counties. Such attendant difficulties as lack of resources during unemployment and the difficulty the foreign born found in adjusting themselves to the social and industrial standards of the communities were important elements in a consideration of the extent of the problem and the communities' ability to handle it.

It was impossible to make any estimate of the number of children in the families given aid by family-relief agencies and the small agencies which were including assistance to children with their other activities. The other provisions made for dependent children and the types of organization giving assistance differed somewhat in the four counties.

The State board of children's guardians had cared for 1,045 children from the four counties during the five years ended March 31,

1925; 1,500⁵ children from the four counties were in private institutions. It must be remembered, however, that some duplication exists in these figures, as practically all the institutions boarded wards of the board of children's guardians, the number of such children varying from 1 or 2 to about 125. Two institutions having 80 and 300 children, respectively, reported that about one-fourth of their children were wards of the board, and one-third of the children in a smaller institution had been placed there by the board.

In addition to the children under the board of children's guardians and those in institutions, several private child-placing agencies were providing care for children in family homes. Since two of these agencies—one caring for a large number of children—were confining their activities to Essex County, the greater proportion of children under supervision of private agencies was found in this county. The only agency operating in all four of the counties was the New Jersey Children's Home Society, which had cared for 142 children from these counties during the five years ended March 31, 1925.

The relatively small number of children (56) committed to the board of children's guardians from Mercer County during the five years ended March 31, 1925, may be accounted for by the fact that the overseers of the poor in the county objected to children's becoming municipal charges through commitment to the board (see p. 7). Most of the dependent children from Mercer County were provided for by one of two agencies with headquarters in Trenton—the statewide New Jersey Children's Home Society, which maintained a receiving home and placed Protestant children in family homes, or St. Michael's Aid Society, which placed Catholic children in two Catholic institutions. One other private institution for children was available for the care of dependent children in this county.

Most of the institutions visited were in Essex County. About two-thirds of the children in institutions in the four counties were provided for in that county. Most of these children were probably from within the county, although some may have been placed from neighboring counties. Commitment of dependent children to the board of children's guardians was much more usual in Essex County than in Mercer; 780 children had been committed to the board from Essex in the five years ended March 31, 1925, as compared with the 56 children from Mercer County. It should be noted, however, that the child population of Essex County was about four times as large as that of Mercer County.

Burlington County had two institutions and Monmouth County had only one small institution for dependent children. Neither of these counties had a local child-placing agency. As the number of dependent children committed to the board of children's guardians from these counties during the five-year period was small (209) it is evident that dependent children must have been cared for in institutions outside the counties, placed informally in their own counties, or placed in foster homes by the New Jersey Children's Home Society.

The private agencies as a rule did not accept negro children for placement, but one Catholic agency referred negro children to an institution in New York. The New Jersey Children's Home Society

⁵ Estimate based on data from Children under Institutional Care, 1923 (U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1926).

did not take negro children into its receiving home but boarded them temporarily in family homes awaiting placement. The majority of negro children whom it was necessary to remove from their homes became wards of the board of children's guardians and were placed by the board in institutions or in family homes. Considering the negro population under 18 years of age, it was found that the board of children's guardians was caring for a disproportionately large number of negro children from these four counties. Thirteen per cent of the wards of the board of children's guardians from the four counties were negro, and only 5 per cent of the population under 18 were negro.

The four selected counties had about 100 overseers of the poor. One of the counties had a county almshouse, and two had one or more municipal almshouses. The almshouses had little or no special provision for children, though it was the usual policy in New Jersey to send children committed to the board of children's guardians to almshouses until arrangements could be made for them by the agency. Where there was no almshouse or where cases were exceptional the children were boarded in family homes until the board of children's guardians could take charge of them. Some overseers of the poor, even in counties that had a county almshouse, placed all children in private institutions for children or with families until the board of children's guardians could receive them under care. The almshouses were not permitted to keep the children for more than one month, and in many instances children never went to the almshouse but were taken immediately by the board of children's guardians—the almshouse commitment being merely a "paper commitment." Occasionally children were sent to the almshouse without formal commitment or were committed with their parents; these children were not reported to the board of children's guardians and were allowed to remain in the almshouse for more than a month.

INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES VISITED

At the time of the study the four counties had approximately 100 private institutions and agencies, exclusive of church and fraternal organizations, which gave assistance of some kind to families or made provision for dependent or delinquent children. Information was obtained from 39 of these agencies in regard to the type of work undertaken and the facilities available for carrying it out. The agencies visited included 16 institutions for dependent children, 5 children's aid societies, 4 institutions and agencies for delinquent children, 10 family-relief agencies, and 4 other agencies doing some work for dependent children. The inspector of the New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies visited 24 of these agencies during 1924.

Data were obtained from all the children's aid societies in the four counties and from about half the other agencies and institutions. Those selected for special study are believed to be fairly representative of the entire number in the four counties.

It was impossible to make a clear distinction between the work of institutions and agencies since several agencies either maintained an institution as part of their work or provided service to one or more institutions. The New Jersey Children's Home Society maintained

a receiving home in Trenton for the temporary care of children pending placement (see p. 57). The work of the St. Michael's Aid Society (a Catholic agency) was confined to the diocese of Trenton. It made all investigations prior to acceptance and discharge for two Catholic institutions—one for boys and one for girls—and placed in family homes children who had reached the age limit in the institution for boys and who could not be returned to their own homes. Somewhat similar work was done in the Newark diocese by the Catholic Children's Aid Association—a central bureau for admission and discharge of all children to and from orphan asylums. Its organization grew out of the need to relieve the overcrowded conditions in orphanages through placement in family homes. The United Hebrew Charities maintained an institution—The Hebrew Children's Sheltering Home—as its receiving home and also placed some children in family homes. In addition to doing child placing and protective work the Essex County Children's Aid and Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children made investigations for the Newark Orphan Asylum, an institution receiving only Protestant children.

Thirteen institutions and agencies were maintained by religious organizations, and one institution was being run by a fraternal organization. Most of the support for the sectarian organizations came from the churches. Many of the sectarian institutions, however, received board for children from parents or from public or private agencies. Practically all the institutions for dependents and the child-placing agencies received board for children under their supervision and were supported in part at least by voluntary contributions. The nonsectarian institutions and agencies in cities having a community chest were supported in part from these funds. One semipublic county home, with its own organization and board of managers, was supported largely from public funds.

STANDARDS OF CARE IN INSTITUTIONS FOR DEPENDENTS AND CHILD-PLACING AGENCIES

INSTITUTIONS FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Accepted standards.

The 16 institutions for dependent children visited in the four counties were providing for a very large proportion of the children under institutional care. They included a few institutions intended primarily for the short-time care of children pending placement or other disposition and others which provided care over long periods of time—frequently until the child was old enough to be self-supporting.

Three points have been recognized as fundamental in the care of children in institutions:⁶

- (1) The stay should be as brief as possible.
- (2) Investigations should be made at frequent intervals to determine whether the children can be restored to their own homes, placed in foster homes, or transferred to institutions better suited to their needs.

⁶ See Minimum Standards for Child Welfare Adopted by the Washington and Regional Conferences on Child Welfare, p. 13 (U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 62, Washington, 1920).

(3) The life of the children while in the institution should approximate as nearly as possible that in a normal family as to health, recreation, schooling, and spiritual training, esthetic, civic, and vocational training.

Except in the receiving home of the New Jersey Children's Home Society and one other institution little emphasis was being put on the first two of these points. The failure on the part of the institution to recognize the importance of making the child's stay as brief as possible and of studying him and his family while he was in the institution in order to plan for his future, may have been due to a variety of reasons which it was not possible to consider in detail in this brief study. Many of the institutions were measuring up in a greater or less degree to the third of the standards. It was on the basis of the care given the children while in the institutions that the 16 institutions have been divided into two groups—those that were good or fair (8) and those that were poor or very poor (8).

Number of children under care.

The 16 institutions from which data were obtained were caring for approximately 1,400 children. Most of them were caring for comparatively small numbers; 14 had less than 100 children each, 1 had 290, and 1 had 400 children at the time of the study. The two institutions having more than 100 children were Catholic congregational institutions. One church institution caring for 89 children and having a capacity for 120 children was an outgrowth of another institution. Efforts were being made to close the older institution, which was housing 66 children at the time of the study, and to provide for all the children in one institution.

Equipment.

Most of the institutions had been in operation for many years, and though many of the buildings in use were old-fashioned they were in good repair, clean, and well-ventilated, and had adequate fire protection. Three smaller institutions which were housed in old-fashioned buildings badly in need of repair were the exception.

The sleeping rooms and the dining rooms in many cases were not in accord with present-day ideas. Only a few of the institutions had any small bedrooms, and in all the institutions most, or all, of the children slept in large dormitories. These were necessarily not homelike in appearance but were clean and well-ventilated. In many of the institutions the dining rooms were not well located—a few of them were in the basement and were barren and cheerless. All but one of the institutions provided some indoor play space, but in many cases it was not up to standard, being basement rooms or rooms ordinarily used for other purposes. Very few of the institutions had a living room; the children studied in the school room, in the dining room, or in the sewing room. A room was usually set aside for board meetings, and children were permitted to use this when they had visitors.

Staff.

The financial resources of the institution, the ability to get workers at low salaries (as in sectarian institutions), and the ages of the children being cared for, no doubt should be kept in mind in considering the number of children in the institution as compared with

the number of workers employed (the number of workers employed as given is exclusive of teachers). Five institutions with populations ranging from 27 to 47 children had from 6 to 15 paid workers; 6 with 62 to 69 children had from 4 to 20 workers; 2 with 80 and 89 children had 8 and 13 workers, respectively; 1 with 290 children had 12 workers; and 1 with 400 had 37 workers. The small institution with 15 workers for 40 children was caring only for infants, and the one with 20 workers had a nursery department consisting of 25 small children and babies.

The duties of the members of the staff differed in the various institutions, and in some cases the duties overlapped so that it was difficult to distinguish between the workers who dealt entirely with the children—such as the matrons and supervisors—and those whose duties were purely of a domestic nature—such as housekeepers, cooks, seamstresses, and laundresses. In all the institutions the children were required to do some work in the house after school hours and on holidays. These duties appeared to be no more arduous than those which under ordinary circumstances children are called on to perform in their own homes. The child's age and physical condition were taken into consideration in making the work assignment.

An institution for negro children, the smallest and most inadequate of those visited, had no paid workers except the matron. Some old women were housed in the same building, and a few of them helped with the work, but on the other hand some of these women were helpless and the girls in the institution were helping to take care of them in addition to doing much of the cooking and general housework.

Type of care.

Some of the institutions kept children for extended periods; and though the stated policy of many of them was to return a child to his parents or other relatives as soon as they were in a position to take care of him, no definite plan was being followed of keeping in touch with conditions in the child's home and the ability of relatives to provide for him. One institution reported that it preferred that a child should not be kept in the institution for more than two years. Its plan was to visit the family at regular intervals in order to keep informed as to whether conditions were favorable for the child's return. Only one institution placed children for adoption, though about a third of them received children on voluntary surrender from the parents.

The Catholic and Jewish institutions made it a rule to take only children of their own faith, but in exceptional cases a Protestant child was provided for. Two nonsectarian institutions excluded Catholic children, but all others took any dependent white child in need of a home. The institutions were equipped to care for normal dependent children only, but a few of them accepted physically or mentally handicapped children when circumstances seemed to warrant it.

New Jersey makes very inadequate provision for the institutional care of dependent negro children. The negro population for each of the four counties studied was somewhat above the average for the State, but only two small institutions for negro children were in existence at the time of the study. One of them was visited and

was found to be considerably below standard in every particular, and it was the opinion of the agent that it should not have been allowed to continue to offer care for children.

Ages of children.

The majority of the institutions accepted children of preschool age, but only 3 of the 16 took children under 2 years of age. These 3 institutions were caring for only 60 babies, approximately half of them being in one institution—a nursery and baby hospital which cared only for young children.

One institution retained supervision over the children to the age of 12, 7 to the age of 14, 1 to the age of 15, and 3 to the age of 16. One institution kept boys until they were 14 and girls until they were 16, one reported that it had no age limit, and two gave no information. Institutions which released children before they were old enough to go to work arranged for their care in relatives' homes or in other institutions. In New Jersey children were allowed to go to work at 14, but children between 14 and 16 were required to have age and schooling certificates.⁷

If very young children were being cared for the institutions preferred not to keep older children because of the different requirements of children of the various age groups.

Source of commitment and investigation.

All but one of the institutions required an investigation before children were received. Four institutions had all investigations made by an affiliated private agency; four others accepted investigations made by other agencies or had them made by a member of the staff, a board member, or the parish priest. All investigations for the other seven institutions were made by an individual connected with the institution.

The majority of the children in the private institutions were received directly from parents or relatives for temporary care. Six institutions, however, boarded wards of the board of children's guardians; four, including the Burlington County home, received children through court commitment. The greater number of the children in the county home were received directly from the overseers of the poor.

Health.

The importance of a thorough physical examination prior to admission was recognized generally. Many of the institutions were small, and the amount of medical service required was necessarily limited. For this reason few institutions had physicians or nurses on their staffs, but practically all of them had attending physicians either on salaries or as volunteers. In cases of acute illness other physicians were called in consultation. Rather limited facilities were available for the isolation of children at reception, quarantine of those with contagious diseases, or general hospital care of the sick. Only three of the institutions isolated children for a definite period as soon as they were received. One other used its isolation hospital only during periods when some disease was epidemic in town. All but one of the institutions made some provision for children with

⁷ N. J. Cum. Supp. to Comp. Stat. 1911-1924, sec. 107-16, p. 1671; sec. 107-18, p. 1672; sec. 107-137A(1), p. 1720; sec. 107-137A(2), p. 1721.

contagious diseases, but in many of them it was quite inadequate. Most institutions had isolation rooms in their buildings, but a few sent children suffering from contagious diseases to local hospitals. Dental treatment was provided by most of the institutions through the school or county dentists or through dental clinics. None of the institutions had children examined mentally at the time of admission, but a few reported that they arranged for examination if it was suspected that a child was mentally defective.

Education and religious training.

The institutions as a rule recognized the advantage of sending children to schools and Sunday schools in the neighborhood. Several institutions had kindergartens or primary schools for their younger children. Only one (a sectarian institution) had a school for children beyond the lower grades, and this was attended by children from the neighborhood also. Several of the institutions conducted their own Sunday schools or other religious services. All the sectarian institutions had regular religious instruction as a part of their daily programs.

Recreation.

All the institutions had some outdoor play space, but little equipment or supervision was provided, and in most institutions it was necessary for children of all ages to engage to a large extent in "free play." Very few institutions had a well-rounded recreational program. One institution with a large, well-equipped play yard (under supervision of the matron), with a tennis court and a swimming pool, was rather exceptional. This institution had inadequate provision for indoor recreation, however; the only play room was the sewing room, with no equipment. It had no living room and only a small library, and the children studied their lessons in the schoolroom. Two unequipped indoor play rooms—one for the older and one for the younger children—and a concrete courtyard, without equipment for outdoor play, constituted the recreational facilities provided by one institution for its 80 children.

Books and magazines, group singing, and musical instruments, such as the piano, phonograph, or radio, comprised the most usual forms of indoor recreation in the institutions. Occasionally the children had stereopticon views, motion pictures, dramatics, or entertainment provided by members of the board or other friends.

Contact with child's family.

Most of the institutions maintained close cooperation with the board of children's guardians or family-welfare associations, or they cleared all cases with a confidential exchange. Little or no effort was made, however, by the institutions toward the rehabilitation of the family. The advantage of having the children keep in touch with their own people was recognized by all the institutions. Some of them permitted parents to visit the children only once a month and others at more frequent intervals or whenever it was convenient. One institution seemed to expect the parents to come to the institution frequently, as it required them to report to the superintendent once a week if they did not come to visit their children. It was contrary to the rule of most of the institutions to have the children visit their parents regularly. Such replies as "never done," "very rarely," and "not very often" were obtained to the query as to the institu-

tion's policy in regard to the children's visiting relatives. A few reported "often in vacation time," or "Christmas, Easter, and summer."

Discharge.

The reported policy in regard to the length of time a child was kept in an institution depended upon the ability of parents or relatives to provide a home for him. The institutions found it necessary to keep some children until they were old enough to go to work, because their relatives were either unable or unwilling to give them a home.

A very large proportion of the children were returned to parents or other relatives. More than half the institutions placed children in free family homes through affiliated child-placing agencies, and a smaller proportion released to other institutions or to the board of children's guardians. Only a few of the institutions provided for any supervision after discharge.

CHILD-PLACING AGENCIES

Type of work undertaken.

Some data in regard to the standards of their work were obtained from all the five children's aid societies in the four counties. All these agencies placed and supervised dependent children in family homes in addition to giving other forms of assistance and doing protective work for children cruelly treated. Such special services as finding suitable boarding homes and providing treatment for sick and physically handicapped children were undertaken for the court and other agencies. A number of the agencies doing family-relief work, especially those in small towns in which there were no other agencies, included some child-placing and protective work with their other activities.

The types of work undertaken by each of these agencies was the outgrowth of some definite need of the communities represented. One agency—the New Jersey Children's Home Society—operated throughout the State; the others worked in smaller territory.

The New Jersey Children's Home Society.—The headquarters and receiving home of the New Jersey Children's Home Society were in Trenton, and this agency provided for most of the dependent Protestant children in Mercer County. It was supplementing also to a limited extent the inadequate facilities in Monmouth and Burlington Counties for the care of dependent children away from their own homes.

The New Jersey Children's Home Society was incorporated under the law of New Jersey, October 1, 1894, "to provide suitable family homes in the State of New Jersey, or elsewhere, for homeless and dependent children that may be committed to its care, and to have, hold, control, and manage a suitable temporary home or homes for such children until family homes shall have been provided for them. It shall also be authorized to do the work of a society for the prevention of cruelty to children, by investigating cases of reported neglect or cruel treatment or illegal employment, and taking such measures as the law provides in the interests of such neglected or abused children. This shall be known as the aid department."¹⁸

¹⁸ Article II of the constitution and by-laws of the New Jersey Children's Home Society.

The early program of the society was to receive babies born at almshouses and to place them in boarding homes pending adoption. Very shortly, however, the organization found it was called upon to care for older children as well as babies and later rented two houses to be used for institutional care supplementing the boarding-home program.

From the beginning the organization had done the work of a society for the prevention of cruelty to children, but later confined its work to the types of service generally known as "children's aid." No decided change of policy in the organization had been made since that time, except that in the beginning children of illegitimate birth were received for adoption on the assumption that no other care was available for them, and in later years this practice was changed to one of discriminating between the child who might be cared for by his own mother or relatives and the child for whom there was actually no other source of maintenance. This policy was in effect when the present superintendent came into office 15 years before the time of the study. The organization had never cared for the unmarried mother with her infant, but had referred such cases to other social agencies for service and supervision. It had occasionally found employment for unmarried mothers with their infants, but this service had been incidental, and since the mother never reported on the success of her employment or on her later needs there was no record to follow up.

In 1922 the organization built and equipped a \$150,000 receiving home. Women field workers have worked with the society at various times for extended periods, but none were connected with the organization at the time of the study.

The staff of the organization consisted of the superintendent, three assistants, the matron of the receiving home and her staff of assistants, and a clerical staff of five persons. Social work in the field was handled by the superintendent and his three assistants (all of whom were ministers of Protestant churches), who had been with the society from 14 to 22 years at the time of the study. Each member of the field staff, including the superintendent, was assigned a geographical division of the State and was responsible for all the service rendered by the society within that division. Some woman in the community from which a child came, or a woman worker from the receiving home, brought to Trenton infants for whom it was necessary to provide temporarily pending family-home placement. When a child was placed for adoption the prospective foster parents came for him themselves, or the child was taken by a woman worker from the home. Transfers of children to and from hospitals were also made by the same worker. With these exceptions the members of the field staff made the investigations previous to placement, found and inspected foster homes, placed and supervised children, investigated parental homes for the return of children, and, in addition, spoke in churches and raised funds. Staff members planned and directed their work under the supervision of the superintendent. They filed a daily report of the work accomplished and a monthly report of all the receipts and expenditures.

The work of the New Jersey Children's Home Society had been of an educational nature in promoting the idea of foster-home care

for dependent children in New Jersey when it was not popular. Through the instrumentality of the churches, from which most of its support was obtained, this society had been able to render assistance to neglected children in isolated rural sections who otherwise would not have come to the attention of an agency.

White children over 4½ years of age were placed in the receiving home of the society pending placement in family homes. Younger white children and negro children were placed in boarding homes. Mentally or physically defective children were not accepted for care. Although the receiving home was intended primarily for temporary care pending placement of children, at the time of the study five or six children had been there for as long as three years. Frequently children were boarded in the receiving home by their parents to help tide the family over an emergency. The distribution of the children under care of the society at the close of 1925 was as follows: In the receiving home, 63; in free and adoption homes, 328; unsettled, 122, of whom 12 were in boarding homes.

Some children were placed in free homes on contract, but the majority of those on trial for adoption were placed more informally as visitors in the foster homes. The society considered this visiting arrangement more satisfactory and less of a strain on the child and the foster parents until a satisfactory adjustment could be made.

Other child-placing agencies.—St. Michael's Aid Society, with headquarters in Mercer County, made investigations for St. Michael's Orphan Asylum and St. Mary's Orphan Asylum.⁹ Only white Catholic children were accepted by these institutions. In addition to investigating cases prior to admission to the institution and returning children to their own homes, it undertook to place in family homes children in St. Michael's Orphan Asylum who had reached the age limit for care in the institution. The society had a staff of two workers. During the year prior to the study 314 children were admitted to the institution, 43 were placed in free family homes, and 143 were returned to relatives. The work extended over the 14 counties comprising the Trenton diocese. Some protective work was done, but this was not emphasized particularly.

The Catholic Children's Aid Association of Newark¹⁰ was established in order to relieve the overcrowded condition of orphanages in the Newark diocese. It functioned as a central bureau for all admissions to and discharges from the Catholic institutions in the diocese. Homes for children were found with relatives or friends who were willing to provide for them free of charge. During the year preceding the study 50 children were placed for adoption, 381 children were provided for in institutions, and 396 were discharged from institutions. Of those discharged 167 were placed with parents and 229 with relatives other than parents. At the time of the study the staff consisted of a superintendent, three investigating agents, and two stenographers.

The Children's Aid and Protective Association of Orange had a varied program. Its work was confined to the Oranges and to Maplewood, and its staff consisted of two trained workers. It did protective

⁹ This institution has been discontinued since the study was made.

¹⁰ Since this study was made this association has been completely reorganized.

work, provided for unmarried mothers, handled bastardy, nonsupport and desertion cases, and family problems involving legal aid, and provided homes for dependent children. Boarding homes¹¹ were used for most of the children placed in foster homes, the board being paid by the parents or relatives. The Orange Orphan Home was generally used for temporary institutional care.

The Children's Aid and Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children of Essex County began its work in 1848 as a Boys' Home and Mission School for Newsboys. Some years later it became a Newsboy's Shelter and Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and in 1890 it was incorporated as a Children's Aid and Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. In 1913 it began to do some family case work, and the following year abandoned its shelter. Soon after this it began to make the investigations for the Newark Orphan Asylum. A large part of its work is done in Newark, although it operates in three other towns (Montclair, Bloomfield, and Verona). At the time of the study the field activities of the society were carried on in two distinct departments—the family department with a supervisor and four agents and the child-placing department with a supervisor and two agents. The entire staff consisted of 10 workers. Most of the children cared for were Protestant as other agencies provide for Catholic and Jewish children, but occasionally Catholic or Jewish children were accepted. Most of the children were cared for in boarding homes, the board being paid by parents or relatives; some were placed in free homes, and a few in wage homes. Children were placed for temporary care in institutions.¹²

Staff.

The executive secretaries or the superintendents of all the agencies were men or women of training or experience in social work, and many of their assistants had had considerable experience in social work. Four of the five reported that one or more of their workers were members of the National Conference of Social Work or the National Conference of Catholic Charities. The limited funds available and the consequent failure of the agencies to provide sufficiently large field staffs and clerical assistance resulted frequently in inadequate social case work.

Type of case accepted.

Reference has been made to the fact that little provision was being made for the care of dependent negro children by private institutions and agencies in the four counties. Most of the negro children who were removed from their homes became wards of the board of children's guardians. The New Jersey Children's Home Society accepted for placement both white and negro Protestant children who were physically and mentally normal, especially those eligible for adoption. The society made investigations of Catholic cases reported to them and referred them to Catholic agencies. One of the two Catholic agencies took only normal children and the other made special arrangements for the blind and the crippled. Neither of them made

¹¹ During 1926 the association placed 28 children in boarding homes, 20 in institutions, 1 in a free home, and 4 with relatives.

¹² During 1926 of 97 children received by the child-placing department, 86 were placed in boarding homes and 11 in free homes. Temporary care was given in institutions to 58 children. On Jan. 1, 1926, 130 children were being cared for in boarding homes and 81 in free homes, usually with relatives.

any provision for negro children, though one of them referred all applicants for care of negro children to a Catholic institution in New York. One agency received only normal white children and another both white and negro children regardless of mental and physical condition.

Source of commitment.

All the agencies accepted children from the courts or other private agencies, and all but one accepted children directly from their parents, but only one of the agencies received children on release from their parents.

Only a small proportion of the children under agency supervision were being supported entirely from agency funds. The court, the overseers of the poor, private agencies, or parents made some payments for the care of many of the children. The payments that were made were used to pay the child's board in a family home or were turned over to the institution in which he was living. One agency reported that it accepted lump-sum payments from parents if they were about to leave the city or were considered unreliable.

Type of placement.

One of the agencies maintained a receiving home for the temporary care of children pending placement. Others used the institution for which they made investigations or other institutions in the community. Some agencies placed with relatives or neighbors when they could give free care or used boarding homes for the temporary care of their wards. Full orphans, children of illegitimate birth whose mothers were unable to care for them, or children from homes which it was considered impossible to reconstruct were placed for adoption by the agencies whenever it was possible. It was the policy of the agencies to require a period of trial prior to adoption varying from three months to a year. The State law, however, does not make this requirement in adoption cases. Some agencies gave the adopting parents a full medical history of the child's family; others gave only partial information or gave information in special cases only.

Children not eligible for adoption were provided for in free homes with relatives, in boarding homes, or in wage homes. Nearly all the agencies made some use of boarding homes, but only two made frequent use of them. Wage homes were used occasionally by most of the agencies for older children. The amount of board paid for children in family homes was approximately the same for the three agencies using these homes regularly. Five dollars a week was the usual amount paid for well children and \$6 or \$7 a week for babies or delicate children. One agency paid \$4 a week for negro children.

Social investigations and physical and mental examinations.

The agencies recognized the necessity for a careful social investigation prior to accepting a child for care. Occasionally the report of an investigation made by the court or some other responsible agency was accepted, but this was contrary to the usual policy, as the agencies preferred to make their own investigations.

Some provision was made by all the agencies for the physical examination of children committed to their care, though one agency arranged for these examinations only when there was serious illness

in the home from which a child came or in which there was evidence of some infectious disease at the time of the child's commitment. Medical care was provided by all the agencies in case of illness, and arrangements were made for the correction of a child's most obvious defects.

None of the agencies provided for routine mental examination of all children accepted for placement. The usual policy seemed to be to have examined only those children who gave evidence of being defective. One agency refused to accept children who appeared to be below normal.

Cooperation with other agencies.

Cooperation with the board of children's guardians, with family-relief agencies, overseers of the poor, and private institutions and agencies was general. Four of the agencies did some work toward the rehabilitation of the families of the children under their care, frequently in cooperation with other agencies. One Catholic agency did not undertake any work of this kind, but referred all such cases to some other Catholic agency for investigation and family case work.

Children not accepted.

When for some reason the agency did not consider it advisable to take a child referred to it for placement he was sent to another agency—either public or private—or arrangements were made for day-nursery care or for aid by the parish. Pregnant girls were sent to maternity homes for prenatal or confinement care. Sometimes supervision was continued after the case was referred to another agency, but this was the exception rather than the rule.

Method of finding foster homes.

All the agencies found foster homes in practically the same ways—through other agencies, other foster homes, pastors of churches, and voluntary applications resulting from speeches and other publicity. Only one agency advertised in the newspapers for foster homes.

The homes of persons desiring to take children were visited, and the applicant was required to give two or more references, including usually the pastor of the church attended and the family physician. Two of the three agencies that used homes in localities in which a confidential exchange was available made use of this exchange in the course of investigation to determine the fitness of a home that applied for children. The majority of the children placed by the three agencies were put in free homes. The principal work of two of these agencies was placing children from institutions, most of the children being placed with relatives. Free foster homes were used by the third agency.

Supervision of foster homes.

All the agencies that placed children in foster homes planned to visit them at regular intervals, but because of the amount of work undertaken and the area served by several of the agencies it was not found possible to make very frequent visits. Three of the agencies specified that the amount of supervision given to individual children varied with the quality of the foster home as well as with the particular problems presented by the child. The general policy seemed to be to allow the foster parents considerable latitude in

the management and training of the child. None of the agencies had a definite plan in regard to routine medical examinations, though they furnished medical care when the child was sick. Regular school reports and statements as to the child's attendance at Sunday school or church were required by the agencies.

No uniformity existed among the agencies as to the length of time children were kept under supervision. Many of the children cared for needed temporary care only, the circumstances in the child's own home being the determining factor. Some children were under supervision in homes for many years. All the agencies had wards whom they had undertaken to supervise during minority.

Discharge.

All the agencies reported that if they were given the legal custody of a child they maintained a friendly supervision over him until he reached the age of 18 years. No supervision after discharge was maintained over children not legally surrendered.

THE WORK OF OTHER INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES IN THE FOUR COUNTIES

INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES FOR DELINQUENT CHILDREN ¹³

Three institutions for delinquents and one agency doing protective work with delinquent girls were visited in the selected counties. The three institutions were in Essex County and the agency had branches in Essex and Mercer Counties. Burlington, Mercer, and Monmouth Counties had no private institutions for delinquents, and all delinquent children who were not allowed to remain in their own homes were committed to one of the State institutions for delinquents or to private institutions outside the counties.

The public institution for boys was being run on the cottage plan with a separate administration building, school, industrial building, and gymnasium. It was providing for 224 boys with a staff of 40, including teachers. It was established in 1870 as "a reform school for boys under 16." A few boys were sent directly to the institution by the school-attendance department with the written consent of their parents. No investigation was made prior to reception, but a parole officer of the institution investigated as soon as possible after commitment. The institution received most of its support from public funds and the majority of the boys were cared for free of charge.

The girls' institution was occupying an old-fashioned five-story L-shaped brick building surrounded by a brick wall. Delinquent women were provided for in this institution, and a staff of 18 (including teachers) was employed for the entire population of approximately 248. The institution was organized in 1875 for "the reformation of incorrigible girls and fallen women." Unmarried mothers, girls with venereal disease, and dependent or neglected girls were accepted. Girls were received through court commitment for either temporary or permanent care, and an investigation was made prior to admission by a member of the staff or some local social agency. Some money was received from parents or guardians and from the

¹³ The public institution was included as it was the only local provision for the care of delinquent boys.

sale of products, but most of the institution's support was received from the church under whose auspices it was run.

A third institution gave shelter to a few unmarried girls during pregnancy. Occasionally a girl was allowed to remain after the birth of her baby, but the child had to be cared for elsewhere. Direct application was made by the girls and no social investigation was made.

The agency included in the study was organized to give "friendship and a helping hand to delinquent, runaway, undeveloped girls, and unmarried mothers." In addition to this it did some family-relief work. The cases which came to its attention were referred by churches, hospitals, factory nurses, and other individuals. Frequently one girl who had been helped brought another girl who needed assistance. Most of those who came were girls over 16 years of age, who were given counsel, placed in institutions, or helped in obtaining employment at domestic service under supervision. Occasionally homes were found for children of unmarried mothers. Excellent cooperation existed between this agency and other public and private agencies, and cases in which family rehabilitation was needed were referred to agencies equipped to do this type of work.

FAMILY-RELIEF AGENCIES

In addition to the institutions for dependent and delinquent children and the child-caring agencies two groups of agencies were studied which might properly be combined—the family-welfare agencies and a miscellaneous group including a number of small agencies doing some form of relief work. Fourteen of these agencies were visited in the four counties—6 in Essex County, 2 in Mercer, 2 in Burlington, and 4 in Monmouth. A few of the agencies were of recent origin but most of them had been in existence for many years, the oldest being an outgrowth of a Revolutionary War relief society.

Only two of these agencies put especial emphasis on child-welfare work, though this is an important aspect of all family-relief work. Their activities included giving material relief; placing children in family homes; providing health clinics, school and community nurses; finding employment; adjusting domestic difficulties; and doing parole and probation work with boys and girls.

Close cooperation existed between the family agencies and the other organizations. Eight of the ten family agencies cooperated with the overseers of the poor; one agency supervised families in which mothers' aid was given; and seven supplemented grants which were inadequate to cover the family budget. In addition to this four agencies cooperated in other work of the board of children's guardians. Three of the family agencies referred all children needing placement to child-placing agencies, but four reported that they occasionally found homes for such children.

With most of the agencies the methods of giving family relief varied according to the circumstances of the individual cases. All the agencies visited the families and granted some temporary emergency relief in food, clothing, coal, or cash for rent, pending investigation of conditions. The usual plan was to give cash, food, or clothing directly to the family, but one agency sent food through

the grocer and paid rent directly to the landlord. None of the agencies assumed the family's debts, but they frequently consulted with the family's creditors and asked them to wait until the family was able to pay.

The amount of supervision given the families depended largely upon the nature of the problem and the acuteness of the situation. Five agencies visited the family once a week and others less frequently. One agency was entirely dependent upon volunteer workers to supervise families receiving assistance, and five of the others used some volunteers.

Most of the family agencies which were making careful investigations and doing adequate case work were located in the cities or larger towns. The work of the agencies in the small towns consisted largely of giving only the temporary material relief that seemed necessary to tide families over emergencies. Their staffs were inadequate to make thorough preliminary investigations and constructive treatment and there were no facilities for clearing the cases.

THE MONMOUTH COUNTY ORGANIZATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

The most notable contribution toward county organization in New Jersey was the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service. It originated as a county branch of the State Charities Aid Association in 1912 and adopted its present name in 1918. In its quarterly bulletin it gives the following as the purpose of its entire program:

To provide services that will give every child in Monmouth County the opportunity to grow up healthy in mind and body.

To bring to Monmouth County the services of all State and National departments and organizations which will help promote our county health program.

To develop our policy of prevention so that there may be no loss to our future citizenship.¹⁴

The organization was under private control and was privately financed. Its budget for 1925 was \$65,000.

The organization had taken the leadership in developing cooperation among all welfare organizations in the county, particularly including the schools and health agencies of all types. It had initiated and supported movements for supplying such new services as that of a county school-attendance officer, a district health officer, a county advisory nurse, a visiting teacher, a public-school child-study division; the establishment of special classes for poorly adjusted children, child-study groups, habit and health clinics, a county tuberculosis hospital, and a county-wide tuberculosis nursing service; and the general promotion and extension of all types of health and recreational organizations.

The organization conducted a confidential exchange with 4,000 families registered. In 1919 it was made the official county representative of the New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies and in 1924 it was given charge of all State parolees placed in the county. Its executive secretary, as county adjuster, was the county representative of all overseers of the poor in their dealings

¹⁴ Public Welfare, published quarterly by the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service, vol. 2, no. 5 (July, 1925), p. 2. Red Bank, N. J.

with the State or overseers in other counties. It was working for a county-welfare house and the placing of outdoor relief on a more effective and constructive basis. The organization had not yet succeeded in developing a satisfactory family case work program nor in securing complete cooperation from local agencies engaged in that work. It had plans under consideration for filling this gap.

The Monmouth County organization is doing excellent work in promoting higher standards of child-welfare work, particularly in educational, recreational, and mental and physical health fields. It has a very good public-health program and has succeeded in promoting commendable cooperation among State and local health and welfare agencies. Its chief needs are: (1) An effective family case work program; (2) greater cooperation with overseers of the poor; and (3) more complete cooperation with the county juvenile court. The failure of the court and the probation officers to use the psychiatric clinic in connection with the Monmouth County organization has been noted (see p. 33). The delay in getting the report of an examination from this organization appeared to be the greatest objection of the juvenile-court workers to making use of the clinic.

SUMMARY

Although the indorsement of the New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies is not required by law in order that private institutions and agencies may continue to operate, it is valued by most organizations as strengthening their appeal for public support.

Only about half the institutions for dependent children from which information was obtained were maintaining sufficiently high standards to be ranked as good or fair, most of the others were poor, and a few were very poor.

Three of the five child-placing agencies were placing most of their dependent children in foster homes, one using free homes mainly and the others boarding homes. Temporary care was given either in a receiving home or in an institution. The other two agencies were serving as clearing homes for placing children in affiliated institutions. They were also replacing these children with their parents or relatives when the families were prepared to receive them. In addition these agencies were placing children in free foster homes on discharge from the institution.

Because of the absence in most of the communities of agencies doing special types of work many of the family-relief agencies were not confining their activities to those usually followed by such agencies, and it was impossible to form an accurate estimate as to the quality of their work.

The number of children in Mercer County in institutions for dependents was somewhat larger in proportion to the population than the number in Essex County. Mercer County had very few institutions—one large Catholic orphanage cared for about 80 per cent of all children in institutions; Essex County had a number of institutions, but many of them were small. In Monmouth and Burlington Counties the few institutions in existence were inadequate to meet the need, and most of the children requiring care outside their own homes were provided for by agencies or were placed in institutions outside the counties. Essex and Mercer Counties had

municipal almshouses and Burlington County had a county almshouse where children were kept in cases of emergency or upon commitment to the board of children's guardians pending placement.

About four-fifths of the population of both Mercer and Essex Counties is urban. A marked difference is noted, however, in the social resources of the rural sections of the two counties. Essex County had no county organizations, but it was well supplied with private institutions and agencies, and practically every community was served by some organization. Although Mercer County had a number of social agencies, some of which were doing exceptionally good work, many of its rural communities were not being served by any social organization. Monmouth County had a county organization for social work with one department dealing especially with children's problems. The greater part of its interest, however, was devoted to health work. The organization conducted a confidential exchange and aimed for complete cooperation of local agencies as well as the development of a well-rounded family case work program. In addition to this organization the county had a few small institutions for dependent children and a few agencies doing some child-welfare work along with family-relief work. Burlington County had comparatively few social organizations, and much of the relief work in the county had been done by such agencies and individuals as the visiting nurses, the county school-attendance officers, the American Red Cross, and the Burlington County Anti-Tuberculosis League. The few institutions for dependent children and family-relief agencies were not maintaining particularly high standards of work.

The absence of well-organized social agencies doing preventive work was perhaps the most marked defect in the social-work program of the counties studied. The lack of adequate social case work and the failure of private agencies to cooperate with one another and with public agencies were apparent in the histories of a group of children whose records were chosen for intensive study. In none of the four counties was any definite plan being made by private institutions or agencies for the care of negro children. A few small institutions, much below standard, were being maintained for negroes; placements of negro children in an institution in a neighboring State were arranged for by one institution; and the state-wide New Jersey Children's Home Society accepted negro children and provided care pending free placement in boarding homes.

CASE STORIES

The following stories illustrate the needs in the counties for more thorough investigation of home conditions, more careful supervision of adoptions, better facilities for protective work, and closer cooperation between public and private agencies:

The lack of adequate investigation on the part of the private agency and its failure to recognize the seriously immoral situation in the home, as well as the failure of the State home for boys to provide adequate supervision of the boy on parole, are illustrated by the case of a negro family in which there were three girls and a boy, ranging in age from 5 to 13 years. They were reported to a private agency early in 1919 by the chief of police. At the time the father was serving a short jail sentence for disorderly conduct. The father and the mother were both immoral and did not always live together. When an investigation

was made it was found that the family was living under miserable conditions and was being supported by the local charities. During 1919 the father was again brought before the court twice, and each time neglect of the children was reported. No action was taken, however, though the agency continued to have frequent contacts with the family.

In September, 1920—18 months after the family first came to the agency's attention—the father was advised to go to a doctor for examination for suspected tuberculosis, and the three younger children were committed to the board of children's guardians.

The board of children's guardians placed the three children in boarding homes, and for the youngest child this continued to be a satisfactory arrangement. Two months after their commitment it developed that the two older children had been sexually immoral for some time, and they were sent to the State homes for delinquents. The girl gave no serious trouble in the institution and worked well under supervision, though she showed little appreciation of the truth or of accepted moral standards. She was paroled, however, but violated her parole, and at the time of the study it had been recommended that she be transferred to the State hospital for the insane for observation.

The boy remained in the State home for boys for several years, after which time he was paroled to a farmer where he remained for two years. He became so dissatisfied at the treatment he received that he ran away. No report had been made by the parole officer for a year, and the farmer reported that no one had ever called on the boy. Though he was located with a near-by farmer he was classed as a violator of parole, and several months later he was brought into court on a charge of breaking and entering and petty larceny, and was sentenced to the State reformatory.

The oldest girl who had been taken out of the State by her employer when she was 12 years old, after an unsuccessful effort to obtain working papers, became illegitimately pregnant and was referred to a local agency which provided prenatal and confinement care. Nothing further was reported regarding her. Two years after the father had been advised to go to a physician he was sent to the State tuberculosis hospital, where he died.

The failure of Alice R.'s family to recognize her mental defect and to agree to her placement in an institution for the feeble-minded was responsible for her remaining in the community following the birth of her first child. Three other children were born to her, all four being of illegitimate birth. When she was illegitimately pregnant for the fifth time she was arrested for adultery and sent to the reformatory, and was later transferred to an institution for the feeble-minded.

In spite of Alice's history her four children were offered for adoption through a newspaper advertisement and were given by the overseer of the poor to a woman who lived in the neighborhood. Within a few months the two older children, a girl of 6 and a boy of 8 years, were removed from this home. The girl was placed in an institution and the boy was taken by relatives, but within less than two years he was sent to an institution for problem boys. The two younger children, boys of 2 years and 10 months, were adopted by Mrs. A. After they had been in the A. home for about two years Mrs. A. decided that she wanted to get rid of them, and a private agency that had been interested in the family from the time of the mother's arrest was instrumental in having them committed to the board of children's guardians. Mr. and Mrs. A. were both of limited intelligence and unstable, and had a mania for taking children. The board of children's guardians had placed the children in a number of family homes prior to the time of the study. Only a few months after their commitment Mrs. A. found where they were and took them home with her. The board allowed her to keep them under supervision, but at the end of three months they were placed in another foster home. Mr. and Mrs. A. tried repeatedly to get the board of children's guardians to release the children from supervision, but their request was not granted.

More adequate personality study and supervision prior to adoption, and prompt action on the part of the court when complaint was first made of the girl's conduct, might have resulted in a satisfactory family-home placement for Sarah J. The New Jersey Children's Home Society referred the case to a

family-relief agency when Sarah was 2½ years of age. She was living with her maternal grandparents in a miserable shack in a rural district. The family was described as "a low set of people who always lived in filth and drank up all the money they earned." As no action was taken by the local agency the home society placed her with a middle-aged couple, who later adopted her. At the age of 8 years she began to be troublesome and her foster mother reported her to the juvenile court, saying she was a bad girl, had stolen money, and should be placed in an institution to bring her to her senses.

The foster parents were apparently fond of the girl, but lacked understanding, and there was constant friction and discord. The girl left school when she was 11 years old and went to live with her own mother, where she remained one year, but the mother could not control her and sent her back to her foster mother. During this time the case was known to two private agencies, a supervisor of child study, and a school-attendance officer. Within the next few years Sarah was with her foster parents, with her mother, with her grandparents, and in several family homes, was committed to the board of children's guardians (but later recalled on petition of her foster father), and was referred to a probation officer but not placed on probation.

In December, 1923, while working and under the informal supervision of a probation officer, in a family home, Sarah became sexually immoral. Two more family-home placements were tried before the court committed her to the State home for girls in June, 1924, when she was 16 years of age, on a charge of incorrigibility.

In September, 1925, the records showed that she was considered stubborn, rebellious, and disagreeable but capable of much determination and not on the whole dishonest. It was recommended that she be paroled to her adoptive parents and placed at housework. At the time of the study this plan was being carried out.

The G. family had been known to an agency doing case work with delinquent girls for 10 years before any protective work was undertaken for the children. The father was intemperate, shiftless, and "not inclined to work," and it was suspected that he had tuberculosis, but he had never been to a clinic. The mother was never at home, as she worked all day and went to the motion pictures or some other place of amusement every evening. The family had come into court because the children were being neglected. About two years before, 14-year-old Emma had been sent to the State home for girls because of sexual immorality. The court ordered the mother to stay at home, but she disregarded the order and no action was taken against her for contempt. The parents' unreasonable demands on their children's earnings had been resisted to such an extent that three of the older ones had actually left home in order to be independent. The family had been given assistance by practically every church in town, had been helped by the local charities and a health organization, and had been a problem to the school authorities. At the time of the study Emma had been paroled from the State home for girls to a home where she was employed at domestic service.

The L. family had been known to private agencies and supported by the town for six years prior to the commitment of the three children to the board of children's guardians. The mother was immoral and feeble-minded and the father was seriously crippled with rheumatism and on the verge of insanity, but no constructive plan had been made for the care of the children. At the time of the study the mother was serving a sentence in the State reformatory, and her transfer to the State institution for the feeble-minded was being considered.

LOCAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN A STATE PROGRAM¹

The preceding sections of this report indicate that development of a sense of local responsibility for conditions that make for dependency and delinquency, of the importance of coordination and development of county agencies, of improvement in the quality of service rendered, as well as an intelligent use of the State's resources, is necessary for an adequate program of child care. The success of the State's program depends upon the way in which the local communities perform their functions just as the local government builds on the theory that certain things will be well done by the State. Neither can do its work well without mutual understanding of their common problems and cooperation in their solution. Whether it be in the matter of improving the service now available, of extending the scope of existing agencies, or of creating new ones to meet unfulfilled needs, cooperation between State and local agencies is important.

A significant administrative development in recent years has been the part taken by State departments of public welfare in promoting the creation of county machinery and the plans that have been worked out for supplemental and cooperative service by county and State agencies. Certain factors make the problem of organization on a basis of state-wide cooperation unique in New Jersey—its small area, its large urban population, and the quick and easy communication between all parts of the State.

DEVELOPMENTS IN OTHER STATES

The experiences of other States in this field are not without value to New Jersey. Eighteen States are now working along lines which may be classified in four groups: (1) Broad program of public-welfare or child-welfare work according to state-wide plan; (2) program of social work promoted by State department but not according to state-wide plan; (3) coordination of public and private relief promoted by State body; and (4) care and supervision of dependent, neglected, delinquent, or defective children, with or without the cooperation of State department.²

Outlines of a few typical examples may be helpful in the creation of a form suitable for New Jersey:³

¹ This section was written by William J. Blackburn.

² The County as a Unit for an Organized Program of Child-Caring and Protective Work, by Emma O. Lundberg, p. 4. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 169. Washington, 1926.

³ For detailed accounts of county organization see: Systems of Public Welfare, by Howard W. Odum and D. W. Willard (University of North Carolina Press, 1925); Public Child-Caring Work in Certain Counties of Minnesota, North Carolina, and New York, by H. Ida Curry (U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 173, Washington, 1927); The County as a Unit for an Organized Program of Child-Caring and Protective Work, by Emma O. Lundberg (U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 169, Washington, 1925); and County Organization for Child Care and Protection (U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 107, Washington, 1922).

COUNTY ORGANIZATION FOR CHILD WELFARE

The group of States of which Minnesota is typical has a county board exercising authority chiefly in the province of child welfare. This unpaid county child-welfare board, with members appointed in part by the State board of control and with a representative of the county commissioners and county superintendent of schools included, has for its chief duty acting as the agent of the State board in the county—in the supervision of children placed out locally by the State, in the investigation of maternity and boarding homes, in the protection of children born out of wedlock, and in cooperation with the juvenile court, the poor-relief officials, and school-attendance officers. In 1926 of Minnesota's 87 counties 80 had such boards in operation. Local social workers report that great progress has been made since this plan of organization was made possible by State legislation some years ago.

COUNTY ORGANIZATION FOR GENERAL SOCIAL SERVICE

The North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare appoints an unsalaried advisory board of three members for each county. The board of county commissioners and the board of education, however, elect the county superintendent of public welfare, subject to the State board's approval, and pay his salary.

The chief duty of the county superintendent of public welfare is the issuance of work permits and the enforcement of the compulsory school attendance law, but he also has charge of public poor relief and of all dependent and delinquent children, especially those on probation or parole, and has the duty of inquiring into unemployment or distress and of promoting wholesome recreation, either public or commercial. He further acts, in conjunction with the county board of welfare, as local representative of the State board and makes such investigations and reports as it requires. In turn the State board actively assists the county through its director of county organization and the State university aids by conducting special summer-school training courses for county superintendents of welfare.

Virginia has a permissive plan, in most respects like that of North Carolina. In Missouri the county court may appoint and fix the salaries of a county superintendent of welfare and his staff. In addition to the duties outlined for the North Carolina official the Missouri superintendent of welfare may be deputized as a deputy State factory inspector.

COUNTY FEDERATIONS OR COUNCILS OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

The Pennsylvania law ⁴ empowers the State department of welfare to promote the organization of county councils of social agencies and county welfare boards to coordinate social-welfare activities. For this purpose the department employs an expert on social organization who actively cooperates with representatives of both public authorities and private agencies throughout the State in planning

⁴ Pennsylvania, act of June 7, 1923, Laws of 1923, No. 274, sec. 2006, p. 498.

such county organization. Great flexibility and adaptation to local needs are possible under this plan. Several counties have achieved very good success with it.

COUNTY ORGANIZATION IN NEW JERSEY

The machinery provided for Minnesota, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania was intended to promote better development of local social resources and greater success in meeting local social problems by the combined efforts of State and local agencies and to arouse a more active feeling of social responsibility on the part of all members of the community. These are the objectives to be attained in any plan for New Jersey.

An entirely new plan is not called for. On the contrary, New Jersey has already provided the foundation for a plan that should be made to include essential and appropriate features of the various plans now in operation elsewhere. The counties in New Jersey have been given the initial responsibility for preventing delinquency and dependency and for caring for these problems through the poor law of 1924.⁵ Certain machinery has been created for this purpose and the problem is mainly how it can be made to function in accordance with modern standards and how the State can cooperate in promoting this end. Previous experience in New Jersey, from the Morris County Charities Aid Association to the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service, has demonstrated the importance of county organization. The poor law of 1924 provided for county welfare boards with certain defined powers.⁶ Experience indicates the necessity of some revisions to make this law effective even in the limited field of poor relief. It should be possible to remove certain limitations and to add certain provisions to make it serve a much larger field of usefulness.

The following case stories indicate the need of better community organization and social planning in counties having many social agencies as well as in those having few:

On a cold February morning in 1912 the visitor of the Newark Bureau of Associated Charities answered the urgent appeal of M Street school to call on the family of Mr. Z. She found an able-bodied Italian teamster idling at home while his wife and three small children shivered from cold and hunger. Since there seemed no adequate reason why Mr. Z. should not supply his family's needs in place of drinking and gambling his money away, the visitor did not feel justified in giving material aid. Mrs. Z. refused to assist by appearing in court for an order to compel her husband to support his family, so that ended the visit.

This incident was the first of a series of social efforts to help the Z. family, extending over 13 years and involving at least 15 State or local agencies and officials. These included the State board of children's guardians, the State institution for the feeble-minded, the Newark overseer of the poor, the city physician, the city hospital, city dispensaries, the city mental clinic, the city home for crippled children, several city schools, the city police courts, the county juvenile court, the Catholic Children's Aid Society, the Newark Children's Aid Society, the local Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the Bureau of Associated Charities (now the Social-Service Bureau), the Canal Street Mission, and sundry more or less generous employers, landlords, local merchants, neighbors, and relatives. An interested or disturbed neighbor, some near-by school which the children attended irregularly, or Mrs. Z. herself appealed first to one and then another of these agencies.

⁵ New Jersey, act of Mar. 11, 1924, Laws of 1924, ch. 132, p. 252.

⁶ *Ibid.*, secs. 3-7, p. 252.

The Bureau of Associated Charities sent holiday dinners, helped to obtain medical and hospital treatment for mother and children, called in other agencies to supplement its own efforts, and maintained an interest throughout the period.

The overseer of the poor contributed money and coal during part of three winters. The family were Catholics, and the Catholic Children's Aid Society responded to the call of the Bureau of Associated Charities and assisted chiefly by bringing legal pressure to bear on the dissolute and irresponsible father to support his dependents. The courts tried fines, jail sentences, and probation but succeeded only in getting minor results. Mr. Z. would work steadily awhile and then relapse into his old faults. He cared little for court orders.

In 1915 the mother appealed for aid to the Newark Children's Aid Society. From that date on this organization kept in touch with the family. Its chief contribution was advice, which rarely was followed long, obtaining mental-clinic, hospital, and special medical aid for the mother and children, and finally calling a case conference in March, 1921, of the agencies chiefly interested, to decide on a plan for handling the situation. This included representatives from the Social-Service Bureau, the city school-attendance department, the medical and mental clinics, the city hospital, the city probation office, and the Catholic Children's Aid Society. The conference met on March 11, 1921. It decided that the father should be sent to jail, the mother placed in care of relatives, and the children committed to the State board of children's guardians.

Prompt action was taken. The court duly committed the children to the State board and placed the father on probation to pay for their board. The mother went to the city hospital for confinement.

The State board of children's guardians found four of the children (Tony 14, Angeline 12, Louis 11, and Dora 3) prolific causes of trouble. With contagious disease, incorrigibility of the boys (finally leading to their return home by court acquiescence, where they continued to make trouble), and the parental kidnapping of the girls, these children occupied more than their share of attention.

Lizzie, 8 years old, crippled and feeble-minded, already had spent two years in the hospital for crippled children. In 1923 she was admitted to the State institution for the feeble-minded at Vineland. The latest available records of the Z. family indicated that Lizzie remained in Vineland, that Angeline and Dora were in boarding homes in Hudson County under care of the State board of children's guardians, and that Tony and Louis were with their parents when Louis was not in the Newark City Home or Tony in the parental home. Each child had had varied juvenile-court and police-court records. In the meantime Mr. and Mrs. Z. were living together with one or more children born since the 1921 conference, and with their boys when they were not under court custody. No recent appeals for material relief appeared on the agency records, but both dependency and delinquency still characterized the family.

Here is a family that for 13 years received irregular attention from a long list of public and private, State and local social agencies. Many of these cooperated, and finally one called a case conference and succeeded in accomplishing something substantial. The problem, however, had been solved only in part. The family still remained an unsupervised community liability. No agency felt responsible for its better adjustment or the safeguarding of its future welfare. It had repeatedly been declared a hopeless case. Even were it a solitary exception, the community could not afford to disregard it. Each agency mentioned, however, could produce many similar cases from its records. Somehow the community had failed to meet its obligations in such cases. How can such failures be avoided in the future? Though complete success in handling such social maladjustments is most difficult to attain, this family's history suggests that the one path of promise lies in early recognition and diagnosis, the cooperation of all necessary agencies to apply community resources consistently and according to a definite, workable

plan, with responsibility clearly recognized and efforts amply supported. A community organized for complete social service should be able to provide this program. Another example will illustrate the present needs.

A pretty suburban village of about 500 population lies close to one of New Jersey's important industrial centers. It has excellent steam and electric railway facilities, good roads, enough small local industries to keep its people profitably employed, and a good four-room school, and one church.

Here Mr. and Mrs. D. owned and occupied a desirable cottage a little off the village street, with the maternal grandmother and their seven children. Two married children lived in near-by towns. Mr. D. was quiet and industrious, Mrs. D. supplemented his income by taking in washings, the two older boys (20 and 24 years of age) helped their father at his trade, and the 18-year-old daughter contributed her earnings from a local mill. There was no record of the family's ever asking public or private material aid.

Both parents appeared to be of low mental grade, and several of their children were greatly retarded and had long been serious problems in the local school. The smallest child was a girl of 5 years of age.

Only one member of the family had gone astray far enough to engage public attention. This girl, Jane, was generally accounted to be mentally defective. When she was only 12 years old an old ne'er-do-well, the village loafer, enticed her to his cottage and started her on a career of immorality. From that time on she was an easy prey. She became unmanageable at home and ran off with passing truck drivers to the city, coming back days later, sometimes with other drivers. Once she was arrested for vagrancy but was allowed to return home. At another time she spent 10 days in the city jail on a charge of intoxication. Her conduct became so bad generally and her influence on her sisters so undesirable that when she was 16 or 17 years old her own mother preferred charges of fornication against her before the court of special sessions and had her committed to the State home for girls. After a year there she was transferred to the State institution for feeble-minded women, where she remained.

Careful investigation revealed the following facts: Several families sent very backward children to the local school, but no special provision had been made for them. The village had little organized social life of any sort, and none available to its least fortunate citizens. The lure of the city had to answer for the recreation that should have been provided under wholesome auspices by the community.

The village had no responsible agency or local representative to whom Mrs. D. could turn for advice when her daughter's trouble first began. No one cared enough or knew enough to prosecute the derelict who was most to blame for the girl's downfall, although it was whispered that she was not the only child who had fallen a prey to his wiles. No one can tell the full significance of his evil influence or of her five years of spreading moral contagion among the younger members of the community.

The defective sons may never cause trouble, but if they or others like them should become troublesome, who in the community stands ready by kindly interest, guidance, or authority, to direct them into better paths or check their evil tendencies?

The near-by city has many social agencies that might have assisted effectively had there been anyone responsible to link up its resources with the local need. The county, however, has no organization for meeting such situations as this, although it contains many localities with similar problems but without resources to solve them.

THE METHOD OF APPOINTMENT AND FUNCTIONS OF A COUNTY SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

If the position of county superintendent of public welfare responsible to an existing board or to one especially created as a local board of public or child welfare is created in New Jersey, it would seem that his duties should include administration of all poor relief, assistance to the juvenile court in the more sparsely settled counties, cooperation in the local health and school-attendance work, and coop-

eration with the State board of control in the solution of local problems. Even more important would be the duty of studying local social problems and promoting the development and improvement of agencies to meet the local needs. Obviously no one person could carry out all these functions successfully, particularly in the more populous districts of the State, and a qualified staff to act under the superintendent, such as is available in the county units in several States, would probably be found necessary.⁷

More detailed recommendations either as to personnel of the county-welfare board or its staff, or as to the field of service which they should cover seem best omitted here. Experience is the best teacher. If these organizations are created and succeed in doing their work satisfactorily in a limited field and give promise of wider usefulness, their functions can be extended. Many additional duties relating to social welfare will suggest themselves, such as for example, community provision of recreation, greater protection for children born out of wedlock, assistance in family rehabilitation and in adjustment of children returned to their own homes after a period of institutional or foster care.

Where sparseness of population seems to make it advisable more than one county might be included in one welfare organization. On the other hand, large cities may desire to create their own welfare boards and have merely a cooperative relationship with the county organization.

In all appointments it is important that members be chosen without regard to political affiliation and with particular reference to their qualifications for this work. In some States the power given to the State board to pass upon and approve the appointive member's qualifications before the appointment becomes effective has been a protection against political or inefficient appointees.

A small nonsalaried advisory board to select the county superintendent and to assist him in forming policies and carrying out duties—particularly by interpreting his program to the public at large—has been found helpful in several States. Such a board might include the chairman of the welfare or institutions committee of the county board of chosen freeholders, and perhaps the county adjuster or county superintendent of schools, and one or more members appointed by the judge of the county court of common pleas or the State department of public welfare.

The State may contribute materially to the advancement of effective local social organization by developing an understanding of what an adequate program of child care includes. The State department of institutions and agencies has already started on such a program, but this has been a secondary rather than the major activity of a member of the State staff. New Jersey has been a pioneer in the care it has planned for its children and in the administrative organization for making its program effective. In this newer field of cooperative functioning of State and local community in the prevention and treatment of dependency, delinquency, and neglect its accomplishments will be a contribution to the solution of these problems in other States.

⁷ See *The County as a Unit for an Organized Program of Child-Caring and Protective Work*.

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